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ABSTRACT

This theme issue of "Educational Foundations" presents five articles on topics ranging from moral concern in matters such as textbook controversies to the politics of society. Additionally, three of the articles focus on the teaching and learning of adults. Kenneth D. Benne's article, "Toward a Moral Basis for Politics and a Political Basis for Morality," is the published version of his R. Freeman Butts Lecture from the 1990 Annual Meeting of the American Educational Studies Association. In "Experiencing Teaching: Viewing and Re-Viewing Education 429" Ann Berlak shares self-reflections as an "experiencing" teacher. In "New Perspectives on Community and Self: Implications of Constructing History: A Case Study" Rae W. Rohfeld and Joan N. Burstyn present a study of a cooperative, community history project that produced experiential adult learning that was instrumental, dialogic, or self-reflective. In "Teaching Social Foundations to Undergraduates: The Importance of Instructor's Educational Training" Linda Spatig and Robert Bickel report on research which indicates that faculty with foundations training orient their classes toward an interpretative, normative, and critical study of educational issues. In "Repressive Pluralism" Joseph Watras examines textbook controversies and argues that focusing primarily on the legal issues of individual rights and academic freedom produces a repressive pluralism that prevents an examination of the larger social purpose of schooling. (DB)

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Educational Foundations

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Educational Foundations

Volume 5
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Theme: Self-Reflective Discourse–Examining Personal, Professional, and Societal Responsibilities

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Editorial Overview

Educational Foundations seeks to help fulfill the stated mission of the American Educational Studies Association to enhance scholarship in and among the educational foundations disciplines by providing a vehicle for publication of articles and essays which feature analysis of the foundations, of foundations methodology, of applications of such methodology to key issues of the day, and of significant research which evolves from and unifies the foundations disciplines, all focusing on the interdisciplinary nature of the educational foundations fields.

Educational Foundations seeks articles and essays in four primary areas:

1. Exposition on the nature of the educational foundations--essays exploring the foundations, highlighting definition, interrelationships, strengths, difficulties, and other aspects of the combined fields.

2. Application of the foundations disciplines to an issue of significance --collections of articles around a specified theme, bringing to bear the nature of the various foundations disciplines on such themes. Information concerning themes for future issues of the journal may be obtained from the co-editors.

3. Methodology--articles exploring methodological issues of the foundations fields, stressing similarities and differences among the disciplines.

4. Research--articles describing or reporting on new research in the foundations fields, with emphasis on interdisciplinary aspects of such research.

Contributions to *Educational Foundations* are solicited from members of the American Educational Studies Association as well as from all other scholars in the foundations of education and related fields of study. While the journal is open to submissions from all interested scholars, the standards for review and acceptance of articles and essays are stringent. Submissions should follow the *Chicago Manual of Style*, with a suggested length of 25-30 doubled-spaced pages, and be sent in triplicate to: Kathryn M. Borman, Co-Editor, *Educational Foundations*, College of Education, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio 45221. When an article is accepted, authors are asked to submit the final version of their article on computer disk, preferably 5-1/4 inch, IBM-compatible computer disk in either WordPerfect format or as an ascii textfile, with as few formatting commands as possible.

Introduction:
Self-Reflective Discourse--Examining Personal, Professional, and Societal Responsibilities

This Spring 1991 issue of *Educational Foundations* presents some widely differing articles, ranging from moral concerns in matters such as textbook controversies to the politics of society. Additionally, three of the articles focus on the teaching and learning of adults. An underlying thread connects them all; that is, the need for individuals to be self-reflective and to be part of a discourse that critically examines our personal, professional, and societal responsibilities. We hope that this issue engages you.

Kenneth D. Benne's article, "Toward a Moral Basis for Politics and a Political Basis for Morality," is the published version of his Butts Lecture from the 1990 annual meeting of the American Educational Studies Association. In his concern for the survival of humankind on the planet earth, he calls for self-criticism and dialogic reeducation regarding our traditional values concerning self, nature, other selves, time, and society.

Ann Berlak, in "Experiencing Teaching: Viewing and Re-Viewing Education 429," shares with us her self-reflections as an "experiencing" teacher who faces the contradictions of teaching and finds that power arises from the ordinary events and circulates through the social body.

In "New Perspectives on Community and Self: Implications of Constructing History--A Case Study," Rae W. Rohfeld and Joan N. Burstyn present a study of a cooperative, community history project which produced experiential adult learning that was instrumental, dialogic, or self-reflective.

In a time when foundational studies in teacher education programs seem to be in decline, Linda Spatig and Robert Bickel's research reported in "Teaching Social Foundations to Undergraduates: The Importance of Instructor's Educational Training" indicates that the faculty with foundations training orient their classes toward an interpretative, normative, and critical study of educational issues.

Joseph Watras examines text book controversies in a new light in his article entitled "Repressive Pluralism." He argues that focusing primarily on the legal issues of individual rights and academic freedom produces a repressive pluralism which prevents an examination of the larger social purpose of schooling.

--**Susan R. Martin**
Editorial Assistant

Toward a Moral Basis for Politics and a Political Basis for Morality

By Kenneth D. Benne

Kenneth D. Benne, professor of education emeritus from Boston University, resides in Washington, D.C. This article is the text of the R. Freeman Butts Lecture which Benne delivered at the American Educational Studies Association annual meeting, November 2, 1990, in Orlando, Florida.

Most, if not all, informed people in the United States now affirm that the survival of humankind on earth has become highly problematic during the past half century. And they affirm further that this growing threat to human survival stems from men's and women's own actions or failures to act, personally and collectively, not from the action of some extrahuman agency. Yet relatively few persons see in these two affirmations, taken together, an opportunity to create an earth-wide, commonly accepted criterion for a mutually reenforcing personal morality and public politics. No such widely accepted criterion to guide both moral choosing and political policy-making in the service of a less problematic future for humankind is now available to earthlings.

Such a valuational standard will not come into widespread understanding, acceptance, or conscientious use without reeducation of the value orientations in which people in different societies have been and are now being enculturated. For some traditional value assumptions in every culture, though these vary

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from culture to culture, now mitigate against human survival. Certainly this is true of assumptions indigenous to traditional American culture on which I will focus in this paper.

My purpose is threefold. I will attempt to show that the basis of a mutually reenforcing ethics and politics is now potential in contemporary threats to human survival. I will suggest and illustrate the kind of deep-cutting, self-critical reeducation of people and of people's value assumptions which is now needed in order to actualize this potentiality. And I will venture a brief exhortation to those engaged in educational policy studies concerning their potentially important place in such reeducation.[1]

Western Precedent

A belief that moral and political decisions should share a common criterion is not without precedent in Western civilization. (Nor is it absent in the East as Confucian ethics in China attests.) Plato and Aristotle understood the study and practice of both politics and ethics to be a search for the norms, principles, and methods of decision-making which further the good life for persons, at least for citizens of a *polis*. The good life for persons requires, so they believed, active citizenship, membership in a political community. The means for the deliberate improvement of life in this world, in the thought of both classic Greece and classic Rome, lay in processes of politics. Since, for the classic Greek thinkers, certainly for Plato, the *polis* was perforce the primary "pedagogical" agent, it is not surprising that both Plato and Aristotle discussed education, politics, and ethics in the same treatises. The hope for improvement in the quality of human life lay in politics and education, conceived as a moral-political endeavor.

It was the depotentiation of the *polis* as a context for human development, by the transfer of political control to a soulless and distant empire following Alexander's conquests, that shattered this hope for Hellenistic men and women. They came to feel like unaffiliated atoms in a political void with no hope for terrestrial redemption through their joint and personal thought and action. Many came to believe that extra-terrestrial means were required to make a lonely and fearsome life livable. Life was experienced as risky. Fortuna was perhaps the most ardently propitiated deity for Hellenistic people. Fortuna, chance, has become again an object of central importance in contemporary life as dependence on statistical researches in education and economics, in studies of quantum mechanics, and the omnipresence of state and regional lotteries all attest. Various mystery religions competed for human allegiance, with

Christianity the eventual winner. Individuals found a goal for living, not in the exercise of this-worldly citizenship and the pursuit of personal happiness, but in preparation for life in an otherworldly City of God. So at least many Christians came to believe. Political processes, in the continuing struggle between Church and Empire, came to be seen as amoral manipulations of power untinctured by any commonly shared and affirmed ethos. It was the eventual emergence of "sovereign" nation states out of feudal localism, after the collapse of a succession of attempts to achieve an enduring empire in Europe, that effected the rather complete rupture between personal ethos and public politics in Western thought and life. Machiavelli, Hobbes, and other political "realists" came to see the essence of political control in the massing and maintenance of amoral power over individuals and over various groupings, ethnic or religious, within the nation. The sovereign was seen to rule by astute use of power, whether through violence or the threat of violence or by propagating credible and influential lies. Such amoral power came to be regarded as the only "realistic" means of "settling" conflicts among nations, as well as intra-national conflicts. The gulf between personal morality and amoral or immoral political machinations has persisted as sovereign power moved from absolute monarchs to representative parliaments, or, in some cases, to totalitarian dictators and parties.

Utilitarian Ethics

There have, of course, been numerous attempts in Europe and America to define an ethos acceptable and available to all humankind, an earthwide ethos with a consonant methodology which might infuse all processes of policy-making and conflict resolution and guide these by criteria applicable also to wise personal moral decisions. Some such advocacies have been **ideological** (conservative), others **utopian** (revolutionary), in Karl Mannheim's use of those terms.[2] But all have proved to be unable to gain acceptance across stubbornly defended boundaries between nations, social classes, religions, genders and/or "races" and thus to attain "universal" validation and authority.

One of the more promising attempts was propounded by advocates of utilitarian ethics. They sought a criterion **applicable** to the guidance of both public policy-making and personal choice. Utilitarians recommended an ethic to guide proposed decisions and courses of actions, public and private, by a prior and on-going rational assessment of their probable human consequences. Its proposed ultimate criterion was the well-known principle of "the greatest

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good for the greatest number." But people in each nation and each enduring sub-grouping within each nation continued to define "the good" in a somewhat different way, a way consistent with their own perceived interests and their traditional value orientations. No overarching definition or criterion of "the good" was available for human beings to use in guiding personal and public choices among alternative actions and action-priorities, choices designed to settle conflicts and to meliorate human life on earth.

Richard Means has argued that it is a crisis in the history of humankind, not scientific discovery, not philosophic argument or speculation, which has breathed fresh meaning and authority into the proposal of utilitarian ethicists:

> The idea of the good is not necessarily equated with [current unprofessed] values, since a society may hold values that make it very difficult to maximize even its own standards of the good. It seems to me the utilitarians had a point, but it took history to make the utilitarian definition of the good universal. It was not the discovery of a new verbal definition, the development of a new metaphysics or psychology, that suddenly thrust the utilitarian idea of the good into the realm of universal applicability and objectivity, but rather a break in history, a new "Axial Period," to use Karl Jaspers' term, in the life of mankind--the atomic and thermonuclear age--
> The good becomes, then [an intersubjective] reality. The rule for ethical behavior is to act in such a way as to maximize the existence and survival of mankind. Obviously time and circumstances may vary the specific ethical injunctions or rules for any particular society. But utilitarian definition of good, transformed into the notion of [human] survival, may lie at the heart of most social ethics. In any case, the rationalization and legitimacy of an ethic may be constructed on this basis.[3]

Multiple Threats to Survival

Human beings are now able, by their own moral and political choices concerning the use of available technologies to destroy not just a delimited number of enemies, some evil empire, but the entire species of *Homo sapiens*, along with all other species which have emerged in the process of evolution. If such destruction is to be prevented, it will be achieved, if at all, through human

efforts, guided by an adequate common morality, personal and political. The control of thermo-nuclear energy, when it was seen as the only likely means of species destruction, seemed to be beyond influence by personal choices and moral judgments. So it was relatively easy for knights of the Cold War on both sides of the Iron Curtain to "sell" bewildered and frightened people an insane doctrine of nuclear deterrence. According to this doctrine the production of more and more nuclear weapons and investment of more and more resources into "improvement" of their power to destroy life on earth, through rigorous testing and research, were the only guarantors of peace and "freedom." Surely, the value assumptions undergirding the construction, defense, and wide popular acceptance of such a doctrine and policy are in need of clarification and criticism. Students of educational policy did not, for the most part, attempt to expose the value assumptions within American culture which made such a doctrine convincing to a majority of the American people, to criticize these assumptions in the light of the threat of species extinction, and to propose the reeducation of vicious traditional value orientations in and by American people. (*Peccavi, peccavimus*!) But the question of how to maintain international security by means other than nuclear has been opened again by recent historical events. Must we sin again?

Revelation of other threats to species survival, by the action or non-action of our species, threats which potentially link morality and politics in today's world, have proved more difficult to conceal under the dubious and equivocal mantle of "national security." The revelation of other species-suicidal uses of technology have occurred outside the field of weaponry--the deteriorating ozone layer, the greenhouse effect, the destruction of rain forests and wetlands, and accelerating pollution of the human nest by accumulating toxic wastes and by unsatisfactory ways of waste-disposal. It is easy to see that individual decisions can do something about these threats when reenforced by consonant political policies. Choices and actions at both political and personal levels are required to reduce the probability of human extinction through these means.

Bringing Morals and Politics into Harmony

Take an example. The reaction to the depletion of the ozone layer--a depletion due partly to the release into the atmosphere of fluoro- and chloro-carbons in kitchen, boudoir, and elsewhere--has approximated sanity in its initial handling. The United States government has joined with other governments in an international political agreement to phase out production and use of

halogen-carbons. It has not mounted educational campaigns in and out of school to inform persons of anti-human consequences of an indiscriminate use of these chemicals in sprays and refrigeration. **But officially the use of these chemicals HAS BEEN ENDOWED FOR MANY PEOPLE WITH BOTH PERSONAL AND POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE.**

Such a transnational response to a survival threat, as it is now gathering momentum, strengthens my belief that current threats of species extinction can be offset and my related conditional hope that species survival may be achieved by mutually reenforcing personal and collective decisions and actions. A ground for bringing morals and politics into harmony on a world scale may be brought into being. As more and more people and their political agents come to see growing threats of species extinction and the prospect of their defeat only through moral decisions, personal and political, to be "actual" and "urgent," a basis may be forged for moralizing politics and repoliticizing morals. An earth-wide ethos may be brought into being, not to destroy or replace a plurality of cultures--cultural variety will be encouraged and enjoyed--but to enlist people from various cultures in common yet variegated moral-political projects in behalf of a human future.

Understanding "Value Assumptions"

This prospect is, of course, highly conditional. And some of the most important conditions required for justification of the hope are educational, or better reeducational, in nature. The reeducation required is not of the "quick fix" or "just-say-no" variety which can be sprayed into half-attentive ears and eyes through the mass media. It involves lifting into consciousness normative assumptions deep in the value orientations of various traditional cultures. Such assumptions must be submitted to critical examination and reconstruction in relation to the overarching criterion of human survival. These orientations operate non-consciously for most of us most of the time. They variously define "the good" in traditional terms, though the principles of good may actually lead toward species suicide in cultures which persist in following them uncritically. The revelation of value orientations and their criticism ("redemption" by dialogic self-criticism, as Habermas and other critical theorists might name the process) should become the focus of widespread reeducational programs. Educators of teachers and other educators should take the lead in this reeducational task.

I use "value assumptions" in a way similar to that proposed by Kluckholm

and Strodtbeck. They have posited a "limited number of common human problems for which all peoples at all times must find solutions."[4] Their anthropology identifies five questions which all human groups must answer somehow. These point to "objects" within all human environments about which groups of people must "theorize," not just for the sake of theorizing, but in the practical interest of survival. The five questions they propose as basic have to do with the nature of "nature," "self," "other selves," "time," and "society." I hold no brief for this particular set of value objects as necessarily involved in any definition of "the human" and "the good" in every culture. I might, for example, be inclined to include "death" as one of these objects, although I realize that the value of "death" may be assimilated to that of either "time" or of "self." But their notion that human cultures are undergirded by normative assumptions and the correlative notion that these assumptions are internalized by members of a culture in the process of their enculturation seem to be sound.

The main anthropogogical[5] thrust of this identification of value objects is that, as they become attached to sentiment in a group, as an commitments to these views of "the human" and "the good" become institutionalized, they come to operate as assumptions in personal and collective decisions and policy-making. They structure the modal responses of group members toward themselves, toward each other, and toward their environment. They operate non-consciously except as they are challenged by contact and interchange with other culture groups with different value assumptions, or as they receive internal challenges from sub-cultural "proletariats" or from socially conscious and prophetic theorists within the culture.

Bifurcation of "Nature"

All people in the world, including Americans, should today become aware and critical of their traditional normative orientations. A common criterion to be used in self-criticism, I am arguing, is whether or not and in what ways our traditional assumptions enhance or diminish the prospect of human survival on earth. My further argument is that this criterion should be applied both to personal and to political decisions concerning how to use any and all of our developing technologies.

To illustrate the kind of consciousness-raising criticism and general reeducation I believe is now required, I will examine our traditional value orientations toward "nature." This requires also examination and criticism of

"nature" as it developed in West European cultures from which American culture is, in large part, derivative.

The thought and practice of modern European men and women assumes a more or less radical disjuncture between humankind and nature, between human culture and the environing natural world in which cultures develop and, viewed historically, decline and die, or, less often, are regenerated. Whitehead has used a dramatic phrase, "the bifurcation of nature," to describe this aspect of modern European thought.[6]

The mischievous bifurcation of nature stems in part from the Christian perspective which stresses the "supernatural" character of each person's essential being and views "nature" as a temporary home for persons and as essentially "inferior" to beings possessed of souls. This idea of inferiority of nature is evident in both the view of sub-human nature external to human beings and the view of the human body--"nature" in each person--as in some degree at war with the human soul in its earthly pilgrimage. It is interesting to recall that the exaltation of nature by St. Francis, his feeling of kinship with birds and other animals and his preaching to them as brothers and sisters, were at first regarded by Church officials as heretically subversive to Christianity.

The widespread belief that the Christian and Newtonian worldview of physical nature, as lawfully determined, mechanical and purposeless, offered a "true" picture of "real" nature drove a further wedge between the conception of nature and that of humankind as consciously purposeful and valuing. The notion that studies of human beings, if they are to be "really scientific," must operate with physical models and by methods proved useful in physics persists widely in academic circles today, though it is probably more widespread now among psychologists than among contemporary physicists. Studies of human persons as aspiring, valuing, remembering, culture building destroying and renewing beings are often relegated to the "softer" and presumably less "hard-headed" and, therefore, more properly negligible domain of humanistic studies.

The world view of Christianity, Cartesian dualism, and Newtonian physics thus led to a view of human persons as aliens or sojourners within "nature." But it was probably the explosion of Western Europe in the exploration and colonization of lands and peoples still in an allegedly wild and savage state of nature that served to add a new and persistent aspect to the underlying conception and value of nature. "Nature" became a foe to be conquered, subjugated, and exploited by human beings in advancing their material and commercial interests. This view may have helped to sustain morale in a pioneering society like America through the ordeals of bringing a wilderness into the service of a Westernized, capitalist way of life, but it has now become deeply prejudicial to survival.

The Exaltation of Technology

Several attendant valuations of nature in relation to human beings follow. One is what Galbraith somewhere called the cornucopia view of nature. There will always be an ample supply of materials and energies to be wrestled from nature--wood and soil and metals and stored carbon fuel. Human beings need not look to the long future in their exploitation of nature. Nor need they respect the intricate ecological balances between land and climate and plants and animals through which natural forms survive and evolve.

Closely correlated with this view is an exaltation of technology and techniques. Tools, methods, and systems for shaping evermore refined and powerful technologies are humanity's principal "weapon" in the human arsenal for a wider and deeper conquest of nature. To value technology as an aid in serving various humane purposes, in making the environment more fully a home for human and other living parts of nature is one thing. To value technology as weaponry in the taming and exploitation of nature and to measure human progress primarily by the sophistication, power, and complexity of society's technological weaponry is quite another.

It is not difficult to see in this analysis, though it is far from complete,[7] that some of our traditional value orientations toward "nature" support policies, decisions, and actions which now lead toward suicide for the human species. Yet some of these are still powerful in shaping political policies concerning the use and allocation of our limited resources and our control of technologies. And they are still powerful in shaping habits of consumption and ways of life. Americans must reeducate themselves to a new conception of "nature" and their interrelations with other parts of nature or perish.

This burden is not only incumbent upon Americans, of course. Persons enculturated in different thought ways must undergo their own processes of consciousness-raising, self-criticism, and reeducation if the prospect of human survival is to be enhanced.

Human Beings Are a Part of Nature

I cannot say what value orientation might follow from the processes of self-criticism and dialogic reeducation which I am recommending. I, like all other post-modern human beings, must learn from participation in these processes.

But I suspect a valuation of nature which squares with a moral and political criterion of species survival might read something like this:

Human beings are a part of nature. They are biological organisms basically dependent on clean air and water and the services of plants in trapping solar energy. They must see non-human nature as an indispensable partner in all enterprises of human living, not as an enemy to be subjugated or an unbounded reservoir to be exploited. They must learn to accept and affirm themselves as a part of nature. This means, among other things, that persons must accept and value their own bodies with their feelings and desires, their passions and compulsions, along with their intellectual capabilities, and accept the wisdom of the body, as Walter Cannon once described homeostasis, as an important part of human wisdom. They must learn to fit their rhythms of living to the rhythms of nature within and around them. People must learn to accept their limitations as well as their powers in reshaping their natural environment as a home for men and women in their own generation as well as for future generations. Natural science must come to be seen as one of the humanities, as Bronowski urged us to see it. And technology must become a servant of humane purposes, controlled in its uses by a newly politicized morality and a critically moralized politics.[8]

Self and the Tradition of Individualism

In addition to the value object, "nature," Kluckholm and Strodtbeck identified four others which are allegedly basic in all human culture. I will not discuss these as fully as I have the value assumptions clustered about "nature" in the American life world. The four others, I believe, also require exposure, criticism, and reconstruction. I will comment briefly on these in order to suggest why this belief is plausible to me. Though I will discuss each in turn, the discussion of each will involve some attention to the others. Value orientations in any living culture are intertwined, though often inconsistent, even contradictory.

1. **Self.** John Locke has been called the philosopher of America by Northrop[9] and others. Certainly Locke's conception of each human self as separate from and only externally related to other human selves is still prominent in doctrines espoused by American individualists. The doctrines of individualism have been re-emphasized by neoconservatives in the past decade. Individual self-interest is alleged to be the only dependable motivation to empower economic growth in competitive market economies. Allegedly, market

economies are the only economic arrangements consistent with democratic political arrangements.

The doctrines of individualism are, of course, an ideology not adequately descriptive of the actual practices of Americans in their life worlds, past or present. American pioneers on the frontier were not rugged individualists. They formed close agrarian and village communities for the satisfactions of "neighboring," for defense against native Americans and other alien outsiders, and for the effective socialization of their children into their version of proper American virtues.

America has spawned more voluntary associations, with which individual persons have avidly affiliated, than any other Western society. These are various in form and function, including lodges, often with secret rituals and passwords, professional and sub-professional associations, service clubs, quilting and other craft societies, and, of course, churches and other cult groups. Of late, support groups have flourished to provide reeducation and mutual nurturance to individuals beset by diverse troubles and special needs and interests--alcoholics, parents without partners, epileptics, stamp collectors, and believers in witchcraft and Satan worship, among many others. Though various in function and in membership, all of these groupings attest to the inherently social nature of persons. No doubt many of their members, if asked, would profess the popular ideology of individualism.

Most recent careful studies of persons and selves by social and personality psychologists and by microsociologists have emphasized that individuation is one aspect of socialization, and that one does not occur without the other. Selves, they claim, come into being only through the internalization of social relations and cultural norms. Because of genetic differences and dialectical relations between persons and cultures, no two processes of internalization are precisely alike.

It is obvious that criticism is needed here. Which normative view of human selves is now most conducive to human survival?

Many Americans still harbor in their mentalities another of Locke's views of the human individual. Locke viewed human selves as inherently passive and reactive, as shaped by environmental influences and subject to reshaping by those who control the impact of these influences, especially upon infants and young people. Skinnerian and Watsonian behaviorists reduced this traditional American view to the absurd in psychology. Romantics, phenomenologists, and American pragmatists have influenced a minority of Americans to view each self as a proactive center of choice, valuation, and creativity. These contrasting views once found an intellectual battleground in discussions of childhood, adolescent, and even adult education. I hope this dialogue will soon be revived.

Exposure, criticism, and reconstruction of the widespread and powerful

view that human persons are inherently passive, reactive, and environmentally determined are now needed. Creative and critical selves are needed as never before.

Others and Otherness: Traditional Negativity

2. **Others and Otherness.** Human persons are always ambivalent when encountering other persons markedly different from themselves in demeanor, language, or conduct. One response is a feeling of threat to one's habitual way of life, to one's security. The other is curiosity about a way of life different from one's own and perhaps also appreciation of an opportunity to learn through interaction and communication with the other. Undoubtedly, American people have shown both responses toward strangers in their own society or from other cultures.

One might surmise that in America, a society of immigrants, a positive response to alien others would be prevalent. This surmise has been and is far from true. A negative response to intrusions by alien nationals, races, and by women getting out of their place has characterized the attitudes and behaviors of establishment Americans. This negation of difference has led not infrequently to violence against persons and groups deviant from one or another version of "true" Americanism or "true" Christianity in our history. Chauvinism, racism, and/or sexism still characterizes the fear and suspicion of otherness among some Americans.

"American" culture traditionally has not been a synthesis of contributions from the various cultures which immigrants have brought with them to our country. Our dominant tradition has been White, Anglo-Saxon, and Protestant. The dirty work, in homes, railroading, and factories was done for many years by non-WASP immigrants. Immigrants were recruited for this purpose. These were forced immigrants like the Black slaves from Africa or voluntary immigrants like the Irish and later the Mediterranians and the Slavs. Negative attitudes toward aliens were thus reinforced by upper and middle class attitudes toward lower-class workers from presumably inferior cultures. Macho attitudes toward weak and allegedly inferior women prevailed in most groups. It is well to remember that the first non-WASP president of the United States was elected only in 1960. No female president or pope has yet appeared. Fear and suspicion of unAmerican (non-WASP) persons and groups has been heightened by nationalism. Nationality is understandable as an expression of what Santayana once called "natural piety." And national and ethnic variety has lent

aesthetic interest to our often dour and self-righteous bourgeois culture. But it requires no long historical memory to recall the horrors of nationalism as an absolute creed in the unfathomable cruelty and inhumanity of the Nazi regime.

Though the WASPS have had to share power with non-WASPS in our recent history, and now live as a wistful and beleaguered minority on the World scene, the hold of WASP values is still powerful in the American ethos. It lives in the elevation of competition as the "natural" way for each person to relate to others in the life of work, politics, and schooling. Cooperation, though necessary in many situations, is difficult to achieve across razor-sharp lines of differences honed by many years of highly prized competition.

WASP culture persists in habits of moving almost automatically from a recognition of differences among persons and groups to a ranking of these persons and groups as "better or worse than us." It is hard for many persons, educators among others, to say "different from" without a concomitant evaluation of "better or worse than" in confronting others.

American culture, of course, incorporates quite different value assumptions about otherness. Liberal Christianity teaches the infinite worth of each person, whatever his or her origin. But even so only a few denominations admit women or homosexuals to the ministry. And fundamental Christians, often possessed also by passionate devotion to their brand of Americanism, try to enlist the forces of law to reinforce their moral condemnation of behavior which deviates from their chosen norms.

Consumer and producer cooperatives have provided a mild counterpart to rabid individualism (corporations are legally individuals) in economic affairs.

The communes which have emerged profusely from time to time in our history as defenses against our competitive way of life have typically been short-lived.

Certainly our "normal" value assumptions with respect to others and otherness need self-criticism in an age of threatened species extinction.

Society: Community and/or Collectivity

3. **Society.** Qualitatively opposed value orientations concerning "society" are demarcated by the description of a good society as either a "community" or as a "collectivity." In a collectivity, which is the only kind of human aggregate an individualist can conceive, personal goals are subservient to the allegedly common goals of a social system--victory in an army or productivity

and profit in an industrial or business organization. In a communal view of a good society, goals of personal growth are centrally important in the programs and projects of various organizations in the society, along with the product to be made or the goal to be achieved. Policies are made by the dialogic participation of those affected and personal differences reconciled in a jointly created common good. Martin Buber expressed the difference between community and collectivity by the preeminence of I-Thou relations in the former and I-It relations in the latter.[10]

Since systematization of specialized roles and of relationships seems inevitable in a technological society, a more readily applicable distinction may be useful in clarifying the differences between "collectivity" and "community" as social ideals. (This shift in focus does not deny the importance of Buber's distinction.) Society may be experienced and characterized as a "system" or as a "life world" (*lebenswelt*).

In a social system, human relationships are relations between specialized roles. Human beings meet as role bearers, bearers of occupational or other systematized and specialized roles. In a hospital system, nurses in role deal with doctors in role, and both with patients in role, and the hospital administrator seeks to coordinate the work of various role bearers; in a factory, managers deal with workers and technical specialists and attempt to coordinate the work of these various role bearers; in a sales department salesmen deal with customers; in a social agency, social workers or therapists deal with clients.

In our society, social systems are normally pyramidal in form with final decision-making power located at the top of the pyramid. This is thought to be more efficient. Efficiency and timeliness are prime virtues in a society seen as a system.

In a life world men and women meet as persons. Roles are, of course, involved in these meetings. But these roles are more personalized--family members, friends and neighbors. These persons live their lives in a framework of traditional normative assumptions. (Traditional does and should not mean unexamined assumptions.) These assumptions are passed on in communal participation in a way of life in the enculturation of the young and the reeducation of the alien, whatever his or her age. This framework defines situations for action and provides a horizon for the validation of various personal, interpersonal, and intergroup actions and interactions when there are doubts about any of them. Conflicts concerning changes in life world assumptions are worked out dialogically by those in conflict. Validation comes through attainment of a workable consensus about new or revised norms or life policies. Once validated, these revert to the status of non-conscious assumptions in practical decisions and actions until challenges again by alternative ideals or normative principles.

Like Jurgen Habermas, I contend that concepts both of "system" and of "life world" are necessary in understanding and evaluating contemporary societies, both in consensus and in conflict.[11] We also agree that an adequate discipline for persons and citizens in today's world requires habituation in methods of face to face dialogue in attaining and maintaining at least a minimum of community among persons. Adequate discipline also requires habituation in methods of purposive-rational-problem-solving in operating the social systems through which goods and services are created and distributed to persons who need and freely choose to use them.

A wise and critical determination of the proper balance and interrelationship between social systems, with its attendant values, and life world, with the values inherent in it, will have much to do with the survival or extinction of our species in tomorrow's world. The colonization of the life world by economic or political systems, to use Habermas's striking term, must be resisted.

Time: "Clock Time" and "Lived Time"

4. **Time.** Perhaps a brief philosophical detour may be useful before noting some assumptions in American culture which have developed around the human experiencing of time. St. Augustine was certainly not the first thinker to puzzle about differences between spatial and temporal relationships.[12] But his puzzling about the nature of time has persisted in Western philosophy. He found it easy to define spatial dimensions and forms, lengths and heights, volumes and areas. But he found it impossible to define temporal relationships in the same clear cut way. Yesterday is gone and irrecoverable bit I still have memories of its events. Tomorrow is non-existent now and both unpredictable and incommensurable. Can human beings measure or control the flow of time out of which both individuals and societies come into being, flourish, and irrecoverably pass into non-existence? Pessimists may see and feel with Robert Frost that "Nothing gold can stay." More hopeful persons, enduring the losses and pain that time brings, may, with Abraham Lincoln, find consolation in the proverb, "This too shall pass away."

Some objectivist and analytic philosophers, who take the views of relativity physicists in spatializing time as providing a picture of "reality" believe that Augustine's puzzles about time were simply mistaken. We all know that physicists have found it useful to treat time as one dimension in a four

dimensional space-time manifold in crucial calculations. Time is as definable, commensurable, and traversable as space, if the physicist's constructs are taken as reality. St. Augustine believed wrongly in what many philosophers call the myth of passage.[13]

These objectivist philosophers do not take history or tradition seriously. They fail to see "time" as eventness, a characteristic not alone of human experience but of all that is experienced, as Dewey, Whitehead, and other process philosophers have seen it.[14] For these philosophers, nature is the locus of events, happenings, and histories, not of immutable and commensurable objects in movements without crises or consummations.

Lewis Mumford may have been right in claiming that clocks were invented in medieval monasteries.[15] More exact ways of measuring time were important in monasteries. Monks had a system of rituals to enact which became invalid if not performed in precise order and on time. Their system of roles was more important to perpetuate than the more erratic and unpredictable life worlds of individual monks seen as unique persons.

We are back to a distinction between system and life world already discussed. In a system, obeisance is given to "clock time." In a life world, "lived time," in all of its uncertainty and irreversibility, prevails. Medieval people outside of monasteries had less need for clocks than did the monks in maintaining their systematic regimen.

In our contemporary era, it is not monasteries that tend to colonize the human life world, to use the language of Habermas.[16] In advanced capitalism, it is industrial systems and the systems of welfare state bureaucracies that tend to deprive persons of life in "lived time" and take only "clock and calendar time" as valuable and real.

The WASP tradition, which, in some measure, still sets the norms of our late capitalist culture, tended to make a fetish of "clock and calendar time." In that moral tradition, time is money. Time is well-used when its employment results in a useful or, more precisely, a profitable product. The morality is future oriented. Postponing present gratification is virtuous since saving is necessary for capital accumulation. As entertainment and diversions have become increasingly commercialized, and thus assimilated to the economic system, leisure has tended, for many, to become as mechanically scheduled and as corseted by carefully measured "clock time" as one's work life also tends to be.

On this view, "progress" is seen as highly likely if not inevitable. Americanism has become for many the operant "this-worldly" religion. Traditional values are honored in the rites of other-worldly religions, in the collection and display of antiques, and in folk festivals, especially when celebrated in "native" costumes.

Alternative Valuations of Time

This normative view of time and its proper uses has been prevalent in WASP dominated segments of American culture. But several alternative valuations of time have persisted and emerged.

Native Americans have continued to identify their time and life rhythms with the time and life rhythms of their Mother, the Earth. Their ancestors and the traditional values they represent are honored every day, not just in holidays and special occasions. Life world remains more important for many, if not most, Native Americans.

Non-WASP immigrants to America have often looked to their traditional pasts for authority in moral matters as a defense against loss of identity to a WASP-dominated culture in which they are aliens. Such dependence on their past as a basis of authority has usually lasted for only a generation or two, except for those who have established communes to resist "progress" which erodes their highly-valued life-worlds. A good example of such resistance is, of course, Amish Americans.

Some immigrants, notably the Hispanics, have persisted in a way of life tuned to life in the present and to realizing as fully as possible the enjoyments of potential only in this passing present. Past and future are subordinated in value to the present.

Americans have generally tended to deny death as the inevitable adjunct of the human passage through time. This denial has taken various forms. People congratulate each other on looking younger than they actually are. Some people spend large amounts of money and effort in sustaining a youthful appearance.

Some have embraced religious doctrines of personal immortality. As a people, we have, of late, sought, at one and the same time, to prolong "life" through the development of more and more powerful science-based technologies and to keep the old people whose "life" has been prolonged by their use out of public view in expensive nursing and retirement homes.

"Socrates," in Plato's *Phaedo*, as he drank the hemlock, argued that the function of philosophy was not primarily to help people live well but to help them die well. He himself had chosen to die well in his own *polis* rather than to live the life of an alien in some *polis* other than Athens.

Perhaps the "right to die" movement, now gaining momentum in America, will help to build into our commonly accepted normative principles the value of a time to die well and in dignity. The notion of a "right to die" extends the traditional boundaries of wise moral choices and vivifies rather than dulls the

enjoyment of life. The correlative task of politics will probably be to protect persons in exercise of that right.

As we seek a vision of the values of time and its uses which is more conducive to human survival than is the traditional WASP vision, now waning in power over American minds and hearts, there are several alternative indigenous and emerging visions within American and world cultures to draw from in building a new synthesis.

An Ecological Test: The Wise Use or Non-Use of Power

Perhaps I have said enough, sketchy, even fragmentary as my observations have been, to convince you, if convincing was needed, that traditional American value assumptions, both in consensus and in conflict, are in need of exposure and dialogic self-criticism and that such re-educative processes now have an important bearing on the prospect of extinction or survival of the human and other life species on earth.

My exhortation to those engaged in studying and teaching educational policy and policy-making is, first of all, that such study and teaching should focus on contemporary policy issues. The long-range aim of such study and teaching is to work toward a common **wisdom** about desirable and feasible resolutions of the issues which now divide and confuse us. Such study and teaching will use knowledge from various relevant disciplines in clarifying and defining the issues and in testing various proposed resolutions. The proximate aim is to stimulate and further dialogues through which uncoerced and informed normative agreement among those with an interest in the issues studied may be achieved. Only such uncoerced agreement can support and guide decisions and actions, personal and communal, toward the effective resolution of policy issues. The aim may be stated in a different way. Education at all age levels has become dangerously depoliticized. Policy studies by educators should seek to repoliticize the thinking of educators and, in turn, the thinking of all whom they seek to educate.

Many, if not most, of the issues studied and taught will involve questions about wise moral and political uses (or non-uses) of our ever-expanding science-based technological powers.[16] It is the wise use or non-use of these powers which will increase or decrease the possibility of species extinction or survival of humankind. Some issues will be concerned with the attainment and/or maintenance of an environment viable for human and other forms of life. Others will focus on the perilously accelerating discrepancies in wealth and

power among groups and classes in our nation and among nations. Others may focus on attaining and maintaining a decent privacy for persons in a world in which prohibitionist fundamentalisms of various sorts are tempting to insecure people and in which the arts of snooping and publicizing are increasingly potent and intrusive. Still others will focus upon the development of commitments to and disciplines in non-violent ways of resolving conflicts between groups, peoples, and nations.

In the study of every policy issue, those concerned with educational policy should try to deepen their own and others' thinking to include the exposure of traditional value assumptions. These, as I have already emphasized, undergird various and conflicting definitions of our human situation and various proposed solutions of current policy issues. It is such normative principles that make various advocated paths toward resolution plausible to their proponents.

These assumptions often operate non-consciously in the thinking of those who are guided by them. Exposure and self-criticism will be possible only as those participating in policy studies develop enough community with each other to engage in uncoerced self-exploration and self-criticism. Value assumptions are basic to the individual and group identity and security of those possessing them or, perhaps better, now possessed by them. Ordinarily, such assumptions have been non-consciously acquired in the process of socialization in one or another life world. Students and teachers of educational policy should develop expertise in nourishing dialogic learning communities which will provide security enough for self-criticism. The teaching of social policy aims toward resocialization or, in the language of Habermas, toward the rationalization of the life world.

Whether or not the policy issue studied involved dealing directly with current environmental hazards, I am proposing that value orientations revealed in policy studies be confronted with an ecological (or perhaps I should say an ecosophical) test. What are the possible effects of acting on this value assumption or on that one upon the prospect of human survival on earth? What meanings do assumptions which pass this test suggest concerning personal and concerning political conduct? My hope is that, as processes of practical rationality become habitual in the study of educational policy, in and out of schools, a basis for moralizing politics and for politicizing personal morality may come into actuality within the people and between the peoples of our beleaguered planet.

Notes

1. As most educators know, "Educational Foundations" was the name given to an innovation in the professional education of teachers and other educational workers which was launched at Teachers College, Columbia University, in the 1930s. An attempt was made to involve those in the educational professions in studying the moral, political, and cognitive underpinnings of education. The aim was to assist professional educators in deepening and maturing their own critical outlook on the aims and process of contemporary education. The innovation grew out of two beliefs held by its inventors. First, they believed that the assumptions, valuative and cognitive, which had traditionally underlain the conception and practice of schooling in America were dangerously outmoded and in need of drastic reconstruction. This need, they believed, was due to radical changes in contemporary societies and cultures. Second, they believed that a cross-disciplinary approach was required in redefining the political and moral responsibilities of contemporary education. Reliance upon cognitive studies in the disciplines of history, sociology, psychology, and economics, as demarcated for research was not adequate to encourage the development of a valuative point of view toward contemporary education. Study of moral and political issues requires use of the cognitive resources of various human science, of history, and of philosophy. But the aim of the inventors of educational foundations was not primarily or exclusively to improve the cognitive and theoretical resources of teachers. They aimed rather to help educators to achieve a critical **practical** orientation. "Practical" did not mean "technical" and "utilitarian" for them, though the term is often used with those connotations. Consistent with a Western tradition as old as Plato and Aristotle, "practical" referred to the wise guidance of *praxis*. The aim of practical reason is to achieve wisdom in **decisions** and **actions**, personal and public. The practical is the moral and political. It does not aim toward a disinterested *theoria* of one or another aspect of human experience, as workers in the scientific disciplines aim to attain. In modern academia, the term "foundations" has tended to be reduced to the acquisition of knowledge from selected academic disciplines rather than the cultivation of practical wisdom. The tendency in foundational studies in education since the 1950s has been to revert to acquisition of knowledge from one or several research disciplines. The term "policy," on the other hand, if taken seriously by educators, can not be reduced to studies in various academic disciplines. Policy is directly concerned with the guidance of moral and political (practical) choices and actions. The term may serve the intentions of the originators of studies in Educational Foundations more adequately than the term "Foundation" does.
2. Karl Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia*. New York: Harcourt Brace, 1936.
3. Richard L. Means, *The Ethical Imperative*. New York: Doubleday, 1969, pp. 56-57.
4. Florence Kluckholm & Fred Strodtbeck, *Variations in Value Orientations*. Evanston, IL: Row Peterson, 1969, p. 4.

5. I have coined the term "anthropogogical" to denote the education and reeducation of persons of all ages which are required in today's world. See Essay 6, "From Pedagogy to Anthropogogy," in Kenneth D. Benne, *The Task of Post-Contemporary Education*. New York: Teachers College Press, 1990, for a fuller discussion of this requirement.
6. Alfred North Whitehead, *The Concept of Nature*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1970, pp. 30-31.
7. See Arne Naess, *Ecology, Community and Life Style*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1989, for a fuller account and analysis of ecosophy.
8. See Kenneth D. Benne, *op. cit*, Essay 4, "Technology and Community: Alternative Bases of Educational Authority," for a fuller discussion of the reeducation now required.
9. F. S. C. Northrop, *The Meeting of East and West*. New York: Macmillan, 1946.
10. Martin Buber, *Between Man and Man*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1938.
11. Jurgen Habermas, *The Theory of Communicative Action*. Boston: Beacon Press, Volume 1 in 1981, Volume 2 in 1987. My own similar views, though using a different language, were expressed in *A Conception of Authority*. New York: Teachers College Bureau of Publications, 1943. More recently I have developed this view in Benne, *op. cit.*, Essay 3, "The Learning Community."
12. St. Augustine, *Confessions*, Book XI, Chapter 14-28. New York: Literary Guild (not dated).
13. See, for example, D. C. Williams, "The Myth of Passage," *Journal of Philosophy*, Volume 48 (1951), pp. 457-472.
14. John Dewey's view of time and the temporal are most fully developed in *Experience and Nature*. Chicago: Open Court, 1926. Alfred North Whitehead's ideas about time are developed most fully in *Process and Reality*. New York: Macmillan, 1936.
15. Lewis Mumford, *Technics and Civilization*. New York: Harcourt Brace, 1934.
16. A rationale for and concrete images of policy studies in a school setting is provided by Kenneth D. Benne and Max Birnbaum in their "Teaching and Learning about Science and Social Policy," *Bulletin of Science, Technology and Society*, Volume V, Number 3 (1985), pp. 225-282.

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1. How many of the articles in this issue did you read?

All_____ Many_____ Some_____ None_____

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Experiencing Teaching:
Viewing and Re-Viewing Education 429

By Ann Berlak

Introduction

Twenty-two years ago I was preoccupied with getting my newborn to sleep through the night; the anti-war protests, the riots in Miami and Chicago, were background events for me. Twenty-two years ago I was teaching upper middle class young white women to teach the social studies to children. By the end of the course the students were to have written a final "unit," including objectives (stated in behavioral terms), activities that "fit" the objectives, a plan for evaluating how successfully their students had "achieved" the objectives, and a rationale for why they would teach what they had planned.

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This fall I am again teaching a curriculum course after a hiatus of more than two decades. It is a curriculum course with a focus on the Social Studies: Education 429. A different city, a different university, and a different point in time. I am different, too, of course. I no longer formulate the primary purpose of the social studies in terms of teaching critical thinking about public issues. I now see myself

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as an "emancipatory" teacher, a term I know is fraught with contradiction (Ellsworth, 1989; Gore, 1990), but one I use to convey my commitment to teach students to act with others against race, class, gender, and other forms of oppression, and for emancipation of oppressed individuals and groups. I also see myself as being in the process of becoming a feminist teacher, a term that, like emancipatory teacher, has many meanings, and reifies an ongoing process. The professional community with whom I identify has, over the past few years, been looking at teaching through the lenses of poststructuralism as well as critical theory.

I will tell three stories about Education 429--stories of power, experience, self reflection, continuity, and change. I tell them because the telling deepens my own and, I hope, others' understanding of how power emanates not from a central source, but is anchored in micropractices and is capillary--that is, circulates throughout the entire social body and is implicit in the tiniest and apparently most trivial events (Fraser, 1989, 24); because the telling helps me grasp how, as it circulates, power produces truth, knowledge, and belief and as it does so serves interests that may be far from those which it appears at first sight to represent (Weedon, 1989, 122-23); because engaging in this ongoing process of self reflection helps me bring my teaching into closer alignment with my emancipatory commitments by revealing some of the ways in which my teaching belies what I intend.

Part One: At First Glance

I begin to plan the course by studying the syllabi of the two men and two women who have been teaching 429, and who will be teaching parallel sections of the course. I decide to devote the first six weeks to a consideration of the purposes of teaching. This will include a critical examination of what this society is like, focusing on the "isms" of race, gender, and class. We'll consider the sources of these injustices, articulating some of the economic and social/political/cultural dynamics behind them. We'll investigate how we ourselves were shaped to accept official versions of truth about society--that we all have equal opportunity, that capitalism is the best possible way, etc.--how the media and our schooling did their work upon us. We'll also examine the counter-hegemonic forces that planted seeds of doubt. We'll explore some alternative ways to organize social life. We'll discuss the futures we envision and hope for, and the roles we and our students can play as citizens in getting

from here to there. I'll teach all of this from the position of a radicalized, "experienced" teacher. I've done it many times before.

The rest of the course will focus on the question, "So what?" In these eight weeks these students, who spend three hours a week in public school classrooms, will teach, most for the first time; they will have to attend carefully and in detail to the implications of their understandings for action. Teaching this part of the course will be less familiar territory for me, terrain I explored quite some years ago.

I notice that students in the other sections of 429 are required to "write" "mini-units." I prepare an outline of the mini-unit I will ask my students to write. I list the elements to be included: an overall statement of purposes; a rationale ("an argument for why the world will be a better place if children learn what is taught in the unit, one that articulates fundamental principles and takes into account the first part of the course"); objectives for a sequence of six lessons; a detailed description of one lesson taught, and a critical analysis of that lesson; and plans for evaluating what the students have learned. I also ask the students to interview a few children about the topic they will do their unit on, and "say how they used the information they got as they made their plan." Responding to the University requirement to state clearly the basis upon which I award grades, I write, "The mini-unit will comprise 50 percent of the grade."

The first part of the course sails along. Most students are either wide open to or have already embraced in varying degrees critical, feminist, and anti-racist views. Several are ecstatic that they will not have to give up their political commitments and activism in exchange for the right to teach. The high degree of congruence of their views with one another's and with mine is a new experience; I am used to teaching classes where most students are unfamiliar with and resistant to critical points of view (Berlak, 1989a, 1989b). There are three students out of 28 who are deeply immersed in mainstream views. I welcome the expression of their views and they express them frequently. There is minimal tension or struggle.

My students ask me how far they can go in presenting critical perspectives to their students. I tell them one can never know for certain, but encourage them to test the limits. A letter from the Chancellor arrives by faculty mail condemning United States aid to El Salvador. I read them the letter. The context may be shifting, at least here in this city, I say.

Teaching the mini-unit. The first class after the San Francisco earthquake. The syllabus suggests it's time to move beyond what has been a pleasurable, high energy process of thinking big thoughts and prepare to teach, by learning to write the lesson plans that will comprise the mini-units. The "real world"

now impinges, not so much in terms of what to teach, as how to plan and organize for teaching. "Objectives" is the extent of my lesson plan for our first session after the quake. I stand quiet for a few moments to "feel" how to begin. I had thought to begin by soliciting from a member of the class a problem she was wrestling with in her effort to formulate objectives for her unit. I find myself introducing the topic of how to write plans for teaching by asking students what they would teach children in social studies about the quake.

We spend half an hour assembling a wide range of possibilities consistent with the orientation of the first part of the course. We are all inspired by the breadth and richness of the proposals. "Now," I say, "let's put these into the 'proper' form." We fill the board with such objectives as "Children will learn that the media distorts the way we see, by comparing media coverage of the Marina District (the high rent section of San Francisco most severely damaged by the quake) with coverage of Watsonville (a town with a large proportion of migrant workers which was also devastated)."

Learning to translate "big" ideas into objectives is not nearly as interesting as generating ideas. However, we cheerfully persevere, still impressed by the diversity and thoughtfulness of the possibilities we have assembled. Everyone acquiesces to swallowing the slightly bitter medicine that, I tell them, is almost universally prescribed in teacher education programs.

During the next few weeks I work with all students to "correct," reformulate, and make more precise the objectives of their mini-units, and to check their "fit" with the proposed activities. During this time, it occurs briefly to me that translating our ideas into this standard form is perhaps a waste of time. The thick units, written by former students of 429, stored in cupboards in our classroom and discovered by our students; my images of the expectations of the cooperating teachers the students are consulting with as they plan to teach their first lessons; my colleagues' views of the units my students will write; all these flash through my mind. I imagine the effect on my reputation if "my" students are unable to write good units. I worry little that the content they plan to teach will be too radical. The Chancellor's letter, too, is a frequent snapshot in my mind.

* * *

October 21. Gay describes a stimulating class discussion about sexism she had on the first day she taught, a lesson so involving she was afraid she'd lose control of the class. She is troubled by the lesson, but not, as I'd assumed, by the problem of discipline; instead, her concern is that she didn't

stick to her lesson plan. I congratulate her for having had such a lively class so early in the term. I tell her its fine, even good, not to stick to the plan. "It is?" she says in apparent wonderment, dawning satisfaction, and relief.

Later that day I ponder this exchange. I have begun every session of 429 by asking several student to tell some aspect of their "schooling story." We never know where it will lead; today we might discuss what it means for teaching that Tom got ulcers from school anxiety in the first grade, next week that Louisa was harassed in the Fifth Grade by a gang of boys.

* * *

October 26. We discuss the interview assignments. Several are discouraged. They couldn't get the students to really talk. The children, some report, weren't very interested in the homeless, crime, or even drugs.

One reports a different kind of failure. "It didn't go well for me, either," Sally says. "What happened?" I ask her. She describes the interview session: "I asked them how they thought they could fight pollution, but after they gave me their opinions, you know, pick up the trash, and things like that, I asked them if they thought that sort of thing would really solve the problem. I told them what I thought. It turned into a conversation, it was not an interview," she says. "You just taught your first class today," I tell her. "I did?" We move on, and do not return to the question of the relationship between "interview" and "teach."

* * *

Elsa tells us, "I taught my first good class today. We did a role play. I made all the kids work in a small area of the classroom. We then discussed how Native Americans, pushed into reservations, must have felt. It's part of my unit. What bothers me is that I do it backwards. I seem to be figuring out the objectives after, not before, I've taught the class.

On the spot I review my own relationship to objectives over

the last 20 years. Only once, can I recall, to see if it would help me figure out what I was really trying to accomplish, did I actually write objectives in behavioral or any other form. "Specifying objectives may have its place," I say, thinking it over in a flash, "but I often have an idea for an activity or a question that I sense will 'work' without even knowing consciously what I mean by 'work.'"

* * *

November 5. Lucinda tells us of a lesson she'd taught for Columbus Day. She'd told her students about how Columbus' men had cut off the hands of Indians who did not wear necklaces around their necks to indicate they had paid the white men tribute in gold.

November 10. We discuss evaluation--how do we know, how can we find out, if students have learned what we have taught. We discuss how to formulate questions that will tell us what we want to know.

December 15. Lucinda reports on the unit she taught her fourth graders on the explorers. In passing, she tells us of a moment during the making of a timeline of the explorers that, "for some reason, was a 'peak experience'" for her. A small group of students had just read the sentence, "Cortez conquered the Aztecs in 15--" and were trying to locate where Cortez belonged upon the line. Lucinda tells us she overheard one say to another, with a knowing look, "I'll bet that conquered means they did something like what Columbus did."

* * *

October 17. Kerry: "I'm still not exactly sure how to write objectives. Can we go over this today? Ann: I don't know **exactly** how to do it either. See how your teacher does it; you can do it your teacher's way. Alice: There's a format for writing out lesson plans in the text book for Ed. 428 (the other required foundations course). You could use that one, too.

December 19. As I read the final Units I am fascinated to see that Kerry and the two other students who began the course "deeply immersed in mainstream views" have chosen a similar method of writing lesson plans: "Teachers' learning objectives," "Anticipatory set," "Objective," "Input," "Guided practice," "Closure." I recognize the Madeline Hunter (1982) recipe for lesson plans.

* * *

Several students are perplexed as the semester draws to a close. They ask me if they have to submit the five lesson plans as they wrote them prior to teaching them. I'd asked them to write six lesson plans and revise and critique one. But since they've begun to teach their lessons, they recognize they wouldn't teach a single one as they had planned. I don't know what to say on the spot.

* * *

The course is over and I must grade the units. I decide to award points for each of the sections (rationale, objectives, etc.). I am especially troubled about how to evaluate the rationales. I know that I value those that state explicitly as fundamental principles that the society in which the students will be teaching is racist, sexist, classist, that people are often blinded to the sources of injustice, and that what and how they have chosen to teach is intended to address these realities.

What do I do with Janet's rationale? She has written a unit designed "to encourage cooperation." Her lengthy rationale argues why people need to learn to get along with one another in families; she is silent about the social sources of conflict, and the need to prepare children to shape the public world. She has told me privately she thinks that she is "out of sync" with me. She knows plenty of people who "cultivate their gardens," who play music for a living, or cook, but do not involve themselves in the problems of the wider world; and though she knows I believe the primary purpose of the social studies is to prepare children for public social action, she just

> does not. I have told her that, though I see things differently, all I feel it is my place to do is to make certain she has considered seriously alternative points of view. Yet even though I believe she has, in fact, fulfilled my criteria, i.e., she understands my (teaching students to join with others to act against oppression) point of view, I am inclined to grade her down for the argument that she makes. I ask myself what I am saying as I try to establish the number of points to award for a rationale written by a student who does not accept the premises upon which the course is built.

Part Two: A Poststructuralist Reading of the Mini-Unit Text in the Context of Education 429

> To deconstruct a discourse is to show how it undermines the philosophy it asserts or the hierarchical oppositions on which it relies (Cherryholmes, 1988, 31).

> Foucault's method of archaeology looks at discarded systems of linguistic and institutional artifacts left behind by successive generations as each took up anew the task of creating categories to explain its perception of the human condition (Martin *et al.*, 1988). Such a method foregrounds that to put into categories is an act of power (Lather, 1990, p.3).

That aspects of my own practice and philosophy contradicted the mini-unit format, that there were contradictions within that format, that the power that spoke through my teaching contributed to forms of oppression I opposed, began to become clear to me as we began to focus on writing mini-units.

One set of contradictions was between our classroom conversation about what teaching was and should be and the hierarchically ordered binary oppositions--teach/evaluate, teach/interview, teach/reflect on teaching, preplan/teach, objectives/rationale--that structured the mini-unit text upon which the classroom discourse focused and which it undermined.

I began to see I made and required students to make distinctions that I contradicted by how and other aspects of what I taught. Though I distinguished

in the mini-unit text the teaching from the evaluating and the teaching from the interviewing moments, I myself thought of and frequently modeled interviewing and evaluating as aspects of teaching. My inquiries about the students' teaching experiences could be regarded as interviews; my response "You have just taught your first class" and "I would have been pleased to get a good discussion going so early in the term" can be seen as moments of assessment or evaluation, as well as moments of teaching. I was, through the mini-unit assignment, teaching students to know in advance what they were going to teach, though, as indicated by the "schooling stories" part of each class session, and the earthquake objectives lesson, I did not practice the kind of pre-planning I was asking them to do.

I now see some of the ways I conveyed the relative value of one member of each of the binary pairs. Too late for the fall semester students, I saw that requiring students to plan six but only critique a single lesson privileged planning over self critique, although I was advocating teaching as a continuous process of self critique and was certainly trying to teach somewhat self-critically myself. Through the mini-unit text I was explicitly and implicitly teaching that those teachers who write units, plan lessons and units in advance, teach, then evaluate, and set out objectives before selecting activities that fit and achieve objectives are the good teachers, although I represented myself as a good teacher and did this minimally myself. My failure to mark as an evaluative moment Lucinda's children's recognition of what Cortez had done, my incidental praise of Sally's interview as teaching, both failed to acknowledge fully the problems created by these binary oppositions (teach/interview, teach/evaluate) and privileged teaching over interviewing and over evaluation. These categorical distinctions and hierarchical orderings of particular elements of these dualisms placed in shadow parts of my self other aspects of my discourse conveyed.

From my present standpoint, months later, I see myself as having been transmitting, relatively undigested, major aspects of a curriculum paradigm so fundamental to my view of "Curriculum and Instruction" that I can't remember where I first encountered it, a paradigm I did not consider not passing on. As I began the second part of 429, orienting my curriculum around the mini-unit, I was a conduit for a discourse or regime of truth (Foucault, 1980) that has dominated teaching in the last decade of our century, and for all of my professional life--the Tyler Rationale. The Tyler Rationale stipulates the major aspects of the format I required students to use as they planned for teaching: selecting and defining learning objectives, organizing learning experiences, and evaluating curriculum. Among the assumptions taken for granted by this paradigm are that these steps taken together and in sequence construct a legitimate curriculum and that the relationships among objectives, learning

experiences, and evaluation are more salient elements of curriculum design than are teachers, students, and the historical and geographical context of the learning. The mini-unit text was also a conduit for the notion fundamental to the paradigm that underlies the Tyler Rationale, that there are first principles, transcendental signifiers, or foundational ideas upon which reasoned justifications can rest.[1] This assumption was implicit in the expectation that students state the principles that are fundamental to their rationales.

Two other discourses counter to the prevailing regime of truth and in part to one another were implicit in the structure of the mini-unit and in our classroom discourse: poststructuralism, and critical pedagogy. The discourse of critical pedagogy underlay the interview assignment: from a critical pedagogy perspective a central purpose of schooling is to encourage students to look critically at what they take for granted; in order to do this teachers must know something about their students' preconceptions. Both the critical pedagogy and poststructuralist discourses were implicit in the requirement to write a self-critique. The poststructuralist assumption that we cannot discover a right way, implies that teaching is at best a continuing process of self reflection; critical pedagogy portrays teaching as a dialectical process of action and reflection, of praxis.

The critical pedagogy discourse also underlay both specifications of the rationale: to articulate fundamental principles and take into account the first half of the course. Requiring that students write a rationale that takes into account the first half of the course was a code for asking them to build a rationale that referred to the principles of critical theory and pedagogy. At the same time, this expectation undermined the position I expressed to Janet when I told her that all I was asking her to do was understand the critical perspective on the purposes of schooling, and then present a reasoned argument that defended what she personally chose to teach. Thus it undermined the poststructuralist assumptions that fundamental principles are products of time and place, that all analyses of the good and true encapsulate and reflect historical circumstances, and that reason is always to an extent an expression of the views of those in power.[2] I was simultaneously using my position as teacher to impose a perspective upon my students--a perspective consistent with the purposes of critical pedagogy--and, though somewhat less consistently, conveying that all structures, principles of curriculum construction, "rules" for writing mini-units, both contradict themselves, and are involved in the transmissions of power. In addition, the notion that students should write units that can be taught by others, or by oneself at a later time, and in another place, contradicted the idea I also taught that teaching should be critical, that is, responsive to the particular beliefs and situations of the students in the class.

This mini-unit format, though intended to convey emancipatory content,[3]

was transmitting power, perhaps more insidiously, since the content tended to mask the power transmitted by the form. The emphasis on pre-planning decentered the particularities of the students and the historical/geographical context; it promoted teaching as transmission of knowledge, marginalizing the spontaneity and responsiveness that are necessary if students are to re-evaluate what it is they think they know and to question how the knowledge they have incorporated reflects and benefits those who occupy positions of power. It is in such unglamorous practices as asking students to write objectives or to evaluate after they teach that power is produced and reproduced (de Laurentis, 1986, 11), that students are inserted into a system of categories and procedures of self description through which they become governable (Gore, 1989, 15).

In this particular teaching of 429, I was, then, modeling teaching as both a process of engaging with students in clarifying experience, and as the transmission of predominating notions of truth; as a process of encouraging the mindless introjection of contradiction, and as one of encouraging the loosening and baffeling of power (Lewis/Simon, 1986, 476). Twenty years ago I remained oblivious to the contradictions within what I was teaching, between my conscious and less conscious purposes, and between what and how I taught. More recently the students and/or I have sighted some of these contradictions, sometimes on the spot, sometimes after class. Often I see them only during the writing process. And, of course, some of them I still fail to see.

That there are always contradictions within our discourses I now take as given. I also take as given that the binaries that we cannot think without always imply hierarchies that hide or mask meanings that are never centered or fixed, and always transmit power. All we teachers can do is be on the lookout for the hierarchies, contradictions, masked meanings as they appear in our discourses and are revealed in students' responses to our curriculum, and examine them publicly for what they are. Cherryholmes claims "Experience always threatens what we know" (1988, 62). I would say it can, if we let it--if we can remain "experiencing" rather than become "experienced" teachers.

To the extent that I recognize contradictions and respond to these by engaging in edifying conversations I am an experiencing teacher. An edifying conversation is a continuing dialogue, in which the participants are able and willing to examine with one another the contradictions in what they both have done and said.

Reflections on reasons. Overcoming some of these contradictions, in the teaching moment or afterwards--becoming an experiencing teacher--requires knowing what it is that structures what we do. When the ways in which power precedes and invades speech are ignored, discourses and practices are determined by rules, interests, and power of structures of time and place (Cherryho-

lmes, 1988, 47-8). As I reflect upon the mini-unit text in the context of my classroom discourse I recognize some of its antecedents, the asymmetries of power that spoke through me without my conscious choice. I was taught the Tyler approach to teaching "as part of the anonymous, slowly changing discourse (of American education) we inherit and over which we have little control" (Cherryholmes, 1988, 135). I had entered the field of education at a time when the instrumental principles of scientific management implicit in the Tyler rationale were the taken-for-granted paradigm in the field of curriculum, and in other institutions, particularly the organization of work, as well.

As I returned to teaching curriculum, aspects of this discourse were circulating in the progressive and radical curricula I assigned to my students, as well as in the *California Framework* format mandated by the state. "What counts in the things (people say)...is not so much what they may have thought (but) that which systematizes them from the outset, thus making them thereafter endlessly accessible to new discourses" (Luke, 1989, 3). The imagined attributions of my peers and of the cooperating teachers, whose views could influence my peers, also spoke through me as I required students to write the mini-units. It is significant that as I taught I was being considered for a permanent position at the university where I was teaching Education 429. Often power is most effective when it operates as desire, because desire often makes the effects of power invisible.

But we know that no regime of truth is ever totalizing. My openness in 429 to the critique of the mini-unit format reflected aspects of myself I had internalized through the discourses of critical pedagogy (particularly Freire) and open education in the sixties, that though marginal in the dominant culture, because they emphasized reciprocity and dialogue, were more satisfying to me than practices that involved domination and control. My openness to clues students' questions and uncertainties offered about the contradictions in my curriculum and pedagogy was also, in some measure, a consequence of being in the process of incorporating a poststructuralist perspective. As the idea that contradictions are inevitable in our discourses and are clues to the transmission of power became more central to my thinking, I began to look for and welcome contradiction. That discourse, then, gave me permission to take my identity as a teacher both as a point of departure and a continuing construction as well (Alcoff, 1988, 433).

What will I do next time? Now that I am more fully aware of the ways in which my mini-unit text subverts my intentions, transmitting power relations that I consciously reject, I will revise the mini-unit text. Yet I know full well that as I do so I will incorporate other contradictions and new traces of power. So how I revise the mini-unit text will matter, but it will not matter much, for all discourses are both liberating and oppressive. What will matter is how the

students and I read the mini-unit guidelines that I write, the meanings we give to them, the extent to which we move from what is written to what is not written and back again, from what is present to what is absent, from the statements to their historical settings (Cherryholmes, 1988, 8), the extent to which we simultaneously use and call the discourse into question (Lather, 1989, 10). This means we will have to exercise textual power, that asymmetrical relation between readers and texts wherein the readers produce multiple readings, interpretations, and criticism. This will involve discovering together how the mini-unit text is self contradictory and how it denies valued ways of teaching and values we endorse. We will acknowledge centrally and explicitly, as in the prior class we did only implicitly and marginally, that the mini-unit reflects the prevailing discourse of the profession they are entering, but that the paradigm is temporal and compromised to a significant degree (Cherryholmes, 1988, 143).

What will matter is that I reveal the term teach as plural, as produced by the languages we use, that we mark the definitions of teach implicit in the mini-unit and Madeline Hunter formats as sites of struggle and as subject to change (Weedon, 1987, 23). What will matter is that I make clear that teachers should and often do take responsibility for constructing their own ways of planning or non-planning, and that whatever approach they construct will eventually be revealed as contradictory, and as reflecting and transmitting aspects of the prevailing regime of truth. What will matter is whether, after all of this has happened, after we have investigated how "their" teachers plan, and considered how being an experienced teacher might modify the ways one plans, I allow or encourage them to construct their own individual ways to plan.

What will also matter is that we reflect upon the mini-unit discourse in relation to the other courses the students are taking, to the timely events, to the particular configuration of students in the class, and the particular experiences they bring into the classroom from the field, that I am mindful that the same object provides the opportunity for a different lesson, depending upon when and where (Lather, 1989, 11). What will matter is that I remain an experiencing teacher, that I encourage questions and contradictions to emerge, that I and the students recognize them when they appear, that we take the time to engage in edifying conversations about them, that I encourage students to continue to examine what they are doing as teachers, in order to increase the likelihood that after they leave our classroom they continue to converse.

> The danger which edifying discourse tries to avert is that some given vocabulary, some way in which people might come to think of themselves, will deceive them into thinking that from now on all discourse could be, or should be, normal

> discourse. The resulting freezing-over of culture would be, in the eyes of edifying philosophers, the dehumanizing of human beings. (Cherryholmes, 1988, 377)

Part Three: Notes Towards Feminist Postructuralist Readings of Education 429 and of Part Two

> The goal of feminist theorists is to analyze gender: how it is constituted and experienced and how we think--or, equally important, do not think--about it (Flax, 1990, 20).
>
> Postmodernism demands radical reflection on our interpretive frames, a reflecting on self reflection on experience (Lather, 1989, 19).

On January 20 I completed "A Poststructuralist Reading of the Mini-Unit Text," what you have just read as Part Two. I have made no changes in the basic argument or structure of that text since that time. In Part One, I described myself as becoming a feminist teacher. In order to advance that effort, I began, one week later, to look both at Education 429 and what I had written about it from an explicitly feminist point of view.

I begin by reading or rereading several feminist texts, asking myself how each author would look at 429 and at Part Two. As I do so I become aware of ways in which 429 and my analysis in Part Two undermine my commitment to teach and write so that gender oppression is more reduced than reproduced. I see that many of the contradictions between my intention to advance female emancipation through teaching and aspects of how and what I taught flowed not only from having internalized the predominating discourse I have called the Tyler Rationale, but also from having taken for granted patriarchal assumptions implicit in the emancipatory pedagogy paradigm that operated as a regime of truth in the sub community of which I have been a part (Gore, 1989).

Most significantly, I recognize that in the first part of the course I and the students had failed to question the discourses of critical theory and pedagogy which assume a public/private dualism, and privilege the public domain as the site of those oppressions to which it is the special mission of schools and teachers to respond. I had designed my curriculum and pedagogy so that the

students would understand that their role in reducing oppression was to educate their students for critical public action. I now see that when I characterized the first part of the course as having sailed along, and described as welcome the lack of student resistance, and the surprising congruence of students' views with my own, I did not understand that this congruence was possible because none of us questioned the public/private dualism that reflects and sustains patriarchal relations of power. "Whenever a story appears unified or whole, something must have been suppressed in order to sustain the appearance of unity" (Flax, 1990, 37).

To treat education for public participation as gender neutral is to commit what Minnich describes as the most basic error in patriarchal thinking: "faulty generalization, which is the result of taking 'humans of a particular kind to be the only ones who are significant, the only ones who can represent or set the standard for all humans.'" (quoted in Lerner, 1990, 10.) "It hides the fact that public/political critique and action, though significant, are more available to men than to unwaged housewives or, for that matter, to half the labour force and half the citizens, that is, to women working double jobs in predominantly part-time clerical and service employment as well as in full-time child care, and domestic service work" (Luke, undated, 8). As a member of the critical pedagogy community, I had incorporated the perspective that members of the working class are less free to think, choose, or participate in the civic culture than economically more privileged persons who have more time and skills for accessing alternative perspectives, and had taught that this was so. But not only had I likely mystified the concept "working class" by at some level meaning/thinking/conveying working class as working class men (Lerner, 1990); I also had neither attended nor called attention to how a myriad of factors make political participation more problematic for women as a group than for men.

Immersed in what Minnich calls hierarchical monism in which "some men become Man and all other people (are) relegated to some degree of 'outside status'" (quoted in Lerner, 1990, 10), I had also marginalized the significance of personal relationships which are at least as oppressive for women as is public/political oppression. My curriculum had reflected the presupposition that "the public is the political, and that the personal, coded as female and devalued for this reason (Johnson, 1987, 44), is not the common concern of humans and worthy of rational debate" (Luke, undated, 22) or of attention by emancipatory teachers. By addressing citizenship as a neutered process, I had marginalized the difference gender makes.

My hesitant and ambivalent response to Janet's desire to educate for personal life, and the reading I gave in Part Two of my response to her, reflected an uncritical acceptance of the public/private dualism, and my greater valuing of the public member of the duo, a value orientation implicit in the

discourse of critical pedagogy. I might, instead, have engaged with Janet in an edifying conversation through which we might both have clarified our views of the purposes of education, and explored how she might teach about the "private" realm of interpersonal relationships so that her teaching would contribute to "making the world a better place in which to live." Accepting that all foundational assumptions reflect relations of power does not imply that I would not ask her to construct a reasoned argument for what and how to teach. It does, however, mean that I must be aware (beware) that my standards for reasoned argument are likely to carry and transmit gendered, sexist, power.

My preliminary (Part Two) analysis of 429 for traces of the reproduction of oppression was si nt about gender relations. There were only two male students in a class of 28, neither of whom were dominant figures. There were four female students who had been and continued to be political activists and were active participants in class, knowledgeable of critical perspectives, and two others who had majored in women's' studies; all of the women would, I think, consider themselves some type of feminist. The more obvious forms of classroom gender oppression: women students competing with or receiving donated time from male students (Lewis/ Simon, 1986), did not occur.

However, unequal classroom participation is not the only way that patriarchical power might be present in a classroom. The students themselves allowed a generally gender neutral discourse to proceed, except during the four class periods devoted explicitly to sexism. None of us identified the contradictions we had internalized, and were continuing to reinforce, between the anti-sexist philosophy we claimed as our own and the classroom texts we were producing together. Perhaps this indicates the students' well-schooled tendency to reflect the teacher's biases, and suggests my view of myself as an emancipatory teacher was based on exclusion from awareness of the power that flows from my teacher role, a power that, if not secured by terror (Martin/Mohanty, 1987, 197), was at least secured by students' likely unconscious fear that I would grade them down if they were to redirect the neutered discourse towards gendered issues and concerns. A further possibility is that in celebrating the unexpected pleasures of our common allegiance to an oppositional (critical) discourse, we did not want to uncover differences among us.

Probably most influential was our inability to think outside the male emancipatory discourses into which I and most of them had been socialized. Though many of the students had become aware of many injustices in the society, most often this had happened in male-taught college and university courses, where, we might suspect, they had encountered patriarchal "emancipatory" texts. Luke (undated) and Gore (1989) argue that seldom do male critical theorists engage seriously with feminist analyses. Nor did the language that we shared (for example, the public/private split) invite or facilitate our awareness. Perhaps if

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either we had all been women or there had been a more equal gender balance, we might have used a gender lens more freely; I shared several female students' expressed concern when we focused on sexism that our discussion not cause the two white males discomfort, a concern that might be another indication of the power of patriarchical thinking.

Finally, I did not consider in my analysis in Part Two the extent to which the Tyler Rationale which underlay such a significant part of the mini-unit structure might be viewed as patriarchical discourse that excludes "maternal" conceptions of teaching, that is, the concern for interpersonal relations and feeling, that are more characteristic of the female parent in our era (Laird, 1988, 456). Thus, the apparent gender neutrality in our classroom and in my analysis of Part Two were belied by a variety of patriarchical practices.

Nevertheless, **how** I taught did embody elements of feminist practice. That is, I taught 429 (as I have always taught) in ways that de-emphasized competition and hierarchy and emphasized student interests, cooperation, and connections with students' personal knowledge. This greater affinity for feminist **pedagogy** than with **feminist** pedagogy--the former more closely identified with women situated within women's studies, the latter highlighting content more than method and more closely associated with feminists in schools of education (Gore, 1989)--is likely a function of my gender: intuitive emotional connectedness is less likely to be repressed in middle class females than in males parented in the United States in the forties and the fifties (Grumet, 1987, 6-16). Ironically, it is as likely attributable to my sexist socialization to doubt my own authority, as to any theoretical argument of either feminist or emancipatory pedagogues. "Different forms of consciousness are grounded, to be sure, in one's personal history; but that history...is internalized or reconstructed by each of us within the horizon of meanings and knowledges available in the culture at given historical moments" (de Laurentis, 1987, 8).

The anti-feminist aspects of critical pedagogical theory now startle me: its opposing of political/personal, and the privileging of the political and devaluing of the personal, where much of the oppression of women is located. I now see that my emphasis on encouraging my students to become and my encouraging them to encourage their students to become critical public persons skirted the politics of gender and reflected the "discourse of radical pedagogy (which) constructs and addresses an androgynous...subject" (Luke, undated, 21).

Looking back I am initially puzzled when I compare the ease with which I incorporated the counter hegemonic discourse of critical pedagogy and for 20 years thought within it, with my slow process of beginning to think within a feminist perspective about the patriarchal assumptions that underlay much of what (though less of how) I taught. Structural factors in part explain: the limited access to feminist writing--university libraries providing much more

easy access to generic critical and poststructuralist writing (written for the most part by men) than to feminist writing; the middle class, mostly white liberal feminist analyses to which I had easiest access that I judged--from my present vantage point, correctly--as irrelevant to the most significant forms of misery I saw around me (Hooks, 1984). The historical contingencies also explain: the recency of feminist rewritings of theoretical narratives, the patterns of sponsored mobility, studies of which will surely contribute to our understanding of why women committed to emancipation for so long did not critique the emancipatory pedagogy paradigm (Luke, undated, 20). The historical period in which I lived shaped my occupation and preoccupation with mothering until my children no longer lived within my home. Recent feminist analyses of work are just beginning to attend to how our concrete non-academic lives limit (as well as support) our academic lives (Lewis/Simon, 1986; Aisenberg, 1988, Grumet, 1987). "As a woman I had a range of possibilities...but all the possibilities that (I)...shared with men involved accepting, negotiating or rejecting what...(was) constantly being offered to (me) as (my) primary role, that of wife and mother" (Weedon, 1987, 3).[4]

A Final Glance

Eagleton claims criticism's task is "to show the text as it cannot know itself, to manifest those conditions of its making about which it is necessarily silent." (emphasis added; quoted in Cherryholmes, 1988, 159-60). Alcoff writes, "All women can (and do) think about, criticize and alter discourses and thus, subjectivity can be reconstructed through the process of reflective practice" (1988, 424). To what extent can we successfully engage in the process of self critique? Probably more than many poststructuralists might think.

Still, there are inevitably important silences. In this text there are at least silences on ethnic and racial differences among and within us; silences regarding the particular perspective that emerges from my own position as white and middle class. Nor did I analyze how the contradictions in our classroom were received or read differently by different individuals or sub-groups of students. There are surely other silences and contradictions and transmissions of power of which I remain unaware. Your role as reader is to exercise your textual power to identify what these might be.

Notes

1. The argument about the Tyler Rationale draws heavily from Cherryholmes (1988).
2. The issue of relativism and postmodernism is discussed by, among many others, Fraser (1989). See also Lerner (1990).
3. Of course, the **content** I was teaching was not, by any means, without its oppressive implications.
4. We must always acknowledge the complexity. Grumet, confronted by the same patriarchal definitions in the field of curriculum as I was, similarly preoccupied with mothering, and in roughly the same era, was, "struck with the absence in theory, research, and practice of the commitments, logic, and contradictions that plague female consciousness" (Grumet, 1988, 63). Perhaps the differences in our visions in part reflect the vastly different experiences of mothering and fathering we lived as girls.

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New Perspectives on Community and Self: Implications of Constructing History– A Case Study

By Rae W. Rohfeld and Joan N. Burstyn

Introduction

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While pursuing our work as educators, we periodically rediscover that experience is a powerful teacher. Yet we rarely measure the significance of what we, or our students, have learned from experiences outside the classroom. The writers of this article decided to explore the learning experience of those participating in a community history project to see what the individuals had learned, and how or why this learning had come about. We believed that studying the educational aspects of this project would provide ideas both for increasing the educational impact of community projects and for building more empowering practical experiences into postsecondary educational programs, particularly those in educational foundations and adult education.

Did those who participated in the project, for instance, gain intellectual skills they felt were transferable? If so, what were they? If some participants grew intellectually, could we identify the experiences

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that had aided their growth? If so, we could then perhaps find ways to incorporate similar experiences into educational programs. We could suggest to other community project leaders that they plan for educational as well as concrete outcomes from their projects.

The desire of others to learn of an individual's experience may itself provoke further learning as that individual undertakes a process of reflection. We, as researchers, may, therefore, have contributed to the perceived significance of the participants' experience. Since reflection is important for learning, we cannot rule out this possibility. Indeed, it suggests to us that participants in community projects may wish to foster self-reflection deliberately as a way to increase their own learning.

The Project

In November 1984 six women met to consider preparing a book of the biographies of women in New Jersey history.[1] The plan evolved into the Women's Project of New Jersey, Inc., which engaged more than 260 people as researchers, writers, and editors. Many more people had contact with the Project through fund-raising activities and public lectures. This paper examines how the project, which had as its task the production of a volume of biographies, served also as a vehicle for the education of the adults involved. Some activities, such as workshops for authors, were designed to be educational. However, the primary intention of most of the Project's activities was not educational but was directed to achieving the production of the book. As a result, the Women's Project of New Jersey would not usually be considered an adult education activity. Nevertheless, community activities such as this have an important role in the education of adults.

The Women's Project of New Jersey, Inc., a not-for-profit organization dedicated to the completion of the book, and the production of a companion exhibit, is run by a Board of Trustees drawn from the professions, universities, and the community within the state. During the first few months, the Board as a whole suggested people to assist in identifying women from throughout the state to be included in the book. A group of volunteers served as initial researchers to find source materials on each of the women suggested. The Board then participated in choosing who should be included in the book and designated a committee of its members to serve as the editors. The president and secretary of the Board of Trustees became the managing editors of the book. They contacted potential authors, organized materials, acted as liaison

between authors and editors, and insured the smooth running of the editorial project. Three professional historians, as associate editors, worked directly with authors on the biographies, edited their work, and checked it for historical accuracy. To insure the accuracy and cohesiveness of references, the editorial group invited a librarian to join them as bibliographic editor. A copy editor read all manuscripts for style. The editor-in-chief, also an historian, coordinated all these activities, made final substantive and stylistic decisions on each of the biographies, and oversaw the final preparation of the manuscript.

Project Leaders Set the Climate for Learning

Past and Promise: Lives of New Jersey Women, the volume of biographies, was produced as a cooperative enterprise.[2] Why did this group choose a cooperative process? The people who organized the project were self-selected. They had all been involved with or were sympathetic to the Women's Movement of the 1970s, and they believed in shared decision-making. Those who came from educational institutions did not allow their place in the hierarchy of those institutions to influence their interactions within the new organization. The President felt that members from colleges and universities did not want those from the general community to feel awkward. She believed that the Board's decision to invite her to become President enhanced the cooperative environment of the project: "There could be no jealousy of the person if someone like me, who did not belong to an institution, was president," she said.

Several alternative processes could have been chosen to produce this volume. For example, an editor could have been selected to plan the contents and solicit desired articles, a common procedure. However, the Women's Project chose to build a diverse decision-making group and to conduct meetings of that group according to the principles of inclusiveness and consensus, a style of leadership common to many women's organizations. We can see this process in the League of Women Voters, another women's organization emphasizing inclusiveness, which has developed complex procedures for making national and regional decisions by consensus through its local groups.[3] The Boston Women's Health Book Collective also adopted an inclusive process to educate themselves about health matters and then to publish their book, *Our Bodies, Ourselves*.[4] Carol Gilligan has demonstrated the importance of context and relationships (two elements involved in inclusiveness and consensus) in

women's decision-making in American society.[5] Others have found that, when groups are comprised of all women, they:

> tend to exhibit cooperative patterns of interaction characterized by efforts to include all group members in discussion, active listening, self-disclosure, and mutual elaboration of discussion topics.[6]

It seems, therefore, that the Women's Project of New Jersey adopted a process familiar to women leaders when it encouraged broad participation in decision-making and facilitated the emergence of opportunities for learning unforseen at the beginning of the project.

When we reflected on what the project organizers did, we surmised that their collaborative process had encouraged learning not only among themselves, but also among most of those who wrote for the project. We believed that understanding more about the learning that took place in this community project would be important since adults often feel disempowered by the inequality between teachers and students found in traditional educational institutions.

Method of Study and Application of Mezirow's Critical Theory

In undertaking this study, we wished to expand our understanding of the way different types of participation in a community project affect the nature of the learning that occurs. We decided to examine the variety of roles that people had in the Project and the nature of individual learning that resulted from each role.

As historians, we used the techniques of historical research to investigate both the processes and impact of the Project. The first author had no involvement in the Women's Project of New Jersey and became acquainted with it through documents and interviews with participants. The second author was editor-in-chief of the volume produced by the Project. We analyzed the extensive minutes of the trustees' and editors' meetings to identify key decisions and the effects of these decisions on project activities and on the learning of those involved. The first author interviewed four editors and two managing editors regarding their personal learning experiences. The notes from these interviews, together with material from the minutes of the board of trustees' and editors' meetings, provided the data we used to analyze the decision-makers' learning.

The first author also designed a questionnaire sent to a sample of 24 writers representing the diverse backgrounds of the whole group, of whom 19 responded. The questionnaire consisted of 12 questions requesting open-ended comments on the reasons writers joined the project, ways they went about their work, what they learned from the experience, and how the experience changed them. The responses to the questionnaire provided the data we used to analyze the writers' learning.

To focus our discussion of the research data we had collected, we decided to apply to it the theoretical framework Jack Mezirow presented in his 1985 article, "A Critical Theory of Self-Directed Learning."[7] Mezirow's critical theory identified categories that seemed particularly useful for differentiating the types of learning that took place in the Women's Project of New Jersey. In applying Mezirow's theory to a specific case study, we enlarged the scope of our work into an informal examination of the theory's applicability as well as a study of the learning that may occur through involvement in a community history project. Our comments are informal and suggestive because we did not begin this work with the intention of testing Mezirow's theory in practice. Although Mezirow's work is controversial and has been criticized for fusing incompatible theoretical traditions, we found that his approach helped us to identify meaningful characteristics of our subjects' learning.[8] We are continuing to explore questions regarding the applicability of Mezirow's concepts.

Mezirow distinguishes three separate but interrelated functions of adult learning: Instrumental learning, which enables people to become competent at handling tasks and solving problems; dialogic learning, which enables people to understand a community's ideology and to engage in communication with one another; and self-reflective learning, which enables individuals to understand themselves.

Within each of the functions described above, three learning processes may take place. These processes are differentiated by their impact on the learner's meaning schemes. Meaning schemes are sets of expectations through which an individual assimilates experiences. The person's meaning schemes together comprise a frame of reference which Mezirow calls a meaning perspective, "the structure of cultural and psychological assumptions within which our past experience assimilates and transforms new experience."[9]

Learning in any of the functional domains (instrumental, dialogic, and self-reflective) interacts with a person's meaning perspective in one of three ways. First, a person may learn without acquiring new meaning schemes, but merely by learning further to differentiate and elaborate within existing frames of reference. Or, learning may involve acquiring new meaning schemes which are consistent with existing ones so that the structure of cultural and psychological assumptions (which make up a person's meaning perspective) remains the same.

Finally, learning may occur through perspective transformation in which learners become aware of the distortion or incompleteness of meaning schemes (one or more) and act to change them. The last results in a consciousness-changing experience for the learner.

In this study, we categorized the learning reported by six decision-makers (four editors and two managing editors) and 19 writers, along with the learning we inferred from the Minutes, to one of nine categories, with each category comprised of a learning function and a learning process.[10] This resulted in clusters of types of learning by which the different participant groups could be compared.

Findings: The Decision-Makers' Learning

The decision-makers' learning emanated from the questions they had to answer in order to create the volume on women in New Jersey history. The questions included: What is the relationship of women's history to local history? How shall we define women's lives? What content is desirable? What content is possible? Who should be involved in writing this book? And who should be included in its pages? To explore these issues, the group drew on individual reading, peer consultation, and discourse about fundamental issues concerning the nature of a community and its history.

Editorial meetings involved up to seven people; trustees meetings involved up to 17, including editors. Participants of both groups engaged in open questioning and discussion. Using the minutes of their meetings, the authors concluded that through this process they came to consensus regarding the values their work would convey. The trustees also identified new activities, such as the preparation of an exhibition, to enhance their project.

We should emphasize here that decision-making by consensus does not mean complete agreement on every decision. In most cases, discussion does lead to general agreement. However, since deadlines have to be met, a group may reach a consensus to accept some disagreement on certain issues. In the Women's Project of New Jersey, individuals sometimes realized they cared less about an issue than others did; as a result, they accepted a view on it that wasn't theirs. Commitment to completing the project was the underlying value all shared.

The participants discovered that the process of producing a women's

history volume was itself a stimulating learning experience for them. One editor stated that the interpersonal process was the most satisfying she had experienced in a long history of organizational work. "The group was unique," she said, "in starting from whole cloth; it established goals and a way of functioning based on feminist ideas." Members worked by consensus and were able to resolve differences without fracturing the group. Everyone understood and valued the collaborative working style of the group. The managing editors described the project as involving more than 200 "friends" who worked together, thus including the writers as part of the collaborative enterprise. The editor-in-chief saw her role as fostering consensus. "When there was conflict," she said, "participants resolved it through long discussions and negotiation; no one forced closure." One of the section editors commented that people were interested in what was being said. One idea sparked another. People acknowledged each others' ideas. The experience encouraged this editor to leave the job she then held in which she was frustrated by the contrasting lack of enthusiasm and energy.

The founding group that met in November, 1984, had four non-academic writers, an historian, and a professor of English. Soon additional historians, women's studies scholars, and librarians joined the group. Meetings focused on the goals of the project, organization of material, criteria for inclusion in the book, chronological divisions, strategies for identifying subjects and assuring accuracy of information, and suggestions of people and sources for information and for additional project members. The Project Chronology captures some of the discussion:

> How to divide the material? Occupational division was considered with the entries on one or more women fleshed out in an introduction preceeding [sic] each section of biographies...[11]
>
> Who to include? A volume of notables would be easiest to produce, but it would be skewed toward the white, upper-class, educated woman whose backgrounds gave them greater opportunity to become well-known.
>
> The consensus is to include not only "notables" but "representative" women as well. But representative of what? Industrialization...suburbanization.... What unique New Jersey experiences would form the basis for organization of such a volume?
>
> We decide to begin our initial research and see what we get and how the material shapes up.[12]

Much time was spent discussing who should be included and how to achieve a representative group of women:

> We decide to play a game. Historians on the Board create a time-line of significant events both in US history and in women's history. We put the time-line and significant events on kraft paper and then placed the index cards on New Jersey women culled from the four volumes of *NAW* [*Notable American Women*] on the time-line according to birth date. In addition, lists were kept by occupation/major interest....
>
> We observe that the early history of the state is scantily represented, with no native Americans present. The following are also under-represented: aviators, Blacks, all ethnics, women's organizations....[13]

On another day:

> The issue of chronology is discussed further. One historian submits a woman-oriented chronology with NJ history as a framework for discussion. Are we writing a book about women who happened to live in NJ or a book about NJ and the women who happened to live here? Possible solutions: the titles of the main sections should suggest a female flavor though they reflect, on the whole, NJ history, the introductions to each section should blend the history of NJ with women's experience.[14]

As names and back-up material came in, the discussions continued. Should this person really be included? Is there enough information about her? Did she have sufficient ties to New Jersey? How shall we refer to subjects? Shall we use married names? Do we need feminist guidelines to assure consistent editorial treatment? The process was time-consuming but satisfying and a source of learning for the participants.

In describing what they learned, the decision-makers reported a great deal of what Mezirow calls instrumental learning. Much of this learning took the form of acquiring and confirming historical information and was within the learners' existing meaning scheme. One editor observed that the project was able to amass entries on a statewide level that tested hypotheses about American women's history. For example, the authors found women in science during the 1920s and 1930s who might have qualified for tenured academic positions, but weren't hired for them. In her book *Women Scientists in America: Struggles and Strategies to 1940*, Margaret W. Rossiter had provided evidence that colleges and universities hired women scientists only in less desirable non-tenured, assistant professor positions, but the evidence for New Jersey was scant before the project's documentation.[15]

Decision-makers also reported a good deal of dialogic learning. This involves increasing one's understanding of social context, communication, and

consensus-building. Dialogic learning seemed to occur in the same topical areas or in relation to the same skills as instrumental learning, providing another dimension to the knowledge gained. Dialogic learning apparently led the decision-makers to develop new meaning schemes more often than did instrumental learning. Some areas in which participants reported both instrumental and dialogic learning included editing, management, fundraising, promotion, and publishing.

An editor spoke about learning how something gets published "from the other side." Usually she saw a publication only from the writer's perspective. In this situation, for the first time an editor herself, she learned how to work with writers to produce a publishable article. She learned to use writers' rewrites to identify their problems in understanding the requirements. Then she talked to other editors about how they got writers to accomplish what was necessary. She studied the copy editor's changes to learn more about what was acceptable writing. "In the first entries," she said, "I was not as rigorous as at the end." She believed the editor-in-chief was especially good at helping her become "rigorous, demanding of accuracy and clarity--relentless and nervy," and to say, "This isn't it."

The president of the Board of Trustees, who also acted as a managing editor of the book, learned new management and fundraising skills. A writer with considerable experience in effective organizing, she sought to increase her understanding of management. She learned to facilitate negotiations between people or groups on the project who had different perspectives. She wrote grant proposals and made personal contacts with donors and succeeded in raising over $130,000 in donations and grants for the project. Through this project, she gained confidence as a manager and fundraiser and gained skills with which she expected to pursue new career directions.

The president talked to people about good management and reflected on her activities, thus manifesting what Mezirow terms self-reflective learning. A few other people also reported self-reflective learning, that is, learning which leads to insight concerning the learner's own needs, abilities, and assumptions. Learners dealt with such questions as, "What am I like as a manager?" "What am I doing when I write history?" and "How can I function in a consensual process?" They discovered how they related in a group of peer professionals. They came to understand their own power individually and as part of a community.

The other managing editor, who was also the secretary of the Board of Trustees, learned more than she knew before about her powers as an organizer. She came to see that she could contribute to historical scholarship through that role, even though she had no credentials as an historian. Through her work in organizing resources and linking academics with community

people, she would have a major impact on the community's view of its history. In terms of other ways she might use her skills in the future, she found the women described in the book to be role models for solving a variety of problems and achieving important social goals.

Some self-reflection had to do with editors' view of their role as historians. One editor had previously been interested in local history, but had given up working in that area. When she came to the project and turned her attention to New Jersey women, she rediscovered her interest in local history. As a participant on a panel program, she glowed at the enthusiasm of high school teachers and administrators who viewed the women in the book as role models for contemporary students. The experience in linking local history and women's history enabled this editor to transform her perspective and see herself as both a local historian and an historian of women.

Another editor experienced a perspective transformation related to her role as an historian. She learned to look at history differently: "I used to make a distinction between constructors of history [the historians] and consumers. Now I believe that in order to consume history people have to understand its construction; they have to take part in constructing it." When people are involved in constructing history, they will make decisions concerning the use and preservation of records that will affect the nature of the history to be written in the future. From her participation in the project, this editor developed an added respect for people without academic credentials and gained a new set of friends. The alteration of her view of history thus affected her view of herself and her relationship to other people. She found it to be an empowering experience.

The amount and nature of the learning that each person achieved seemed partially dependent on the expertise and readiness for change that individuals brought to the experience. We did not find evidence among the decision-makers of a change of attitude towards gender issues, perhaps because they were already participants in feminist or women's studies activities before they began working on the project. However, as described above, some decision-makers were open to perspective transformation in relation to their roles as professionals.

In order to make the distinctions described above, we had to categorize the learning according to Mezirow's theoretical framework. Using the material we gathered as historians, we found it easier to identify the function of the learning reported--that is, whether it was instrumental, dialogic, or self-reflective--than to determine the relationship of the learning to the individual's meaning scheme. This suggests that, to be more precise in identifying the status of meaning schemes, it will be necessary to design a more intricate protocol for the collection of data. It's also possible that Mezirow's theoretical distinction

among three learning processes, each differentiated by their impact upon the learner's meaning schemes, may be impossible to verify in practice.

Findings: The Writers' Learning

Two hundred and fifty people worked as writers in this project. Approximately half were academics--college and university faculty--and about half of the academics were historians. The rest of the writers--approximately 125 people--had little or no experience in writing biographies. All writers had their work edited by an associate editor, the copy editor, and the editor in chief. The editorial process was often a significant learning experience, particularly for those writers with little practice in scholarly writing.

The main task of the writers was to prepare an accurate biography of a subject in accordance with the guidelines provided. The writers' learning occurred within the context of carrying out this task. In preparation for their work, they received written materials with guides for research--what type of information to look for and where to look for it. They also received directions for style, including matters related to women's history. Some writers attended lectures and workshops on women's biography which the Women's Project of New Jersey co-sponsored with Drew University. To learn about their subjects' lives, the writers used many print and manuscript sources. Those writing about women who were living interviewed their subjects. The writers also interacted with their editors--some more often than others. However, they had little opportunity for the discourse and peer interaction that dominated the learning activities of the decision-making editorial group.

Like the decision-makers, the writers reported much instrumental learning. They learned a great deal about their subjects and about women's history. They learned to write clearly, to interview effectively, to conduct research in library and archival sources; a few even learned to give public presentations.

The writers also indicated significant self-reflective learning, most within the same meaning scheme. For example, participants used their work to reinforce their confidence in themselves as writers. Many learned to think of themselves as historians and as achievers. In their reports, instrumental learning and self-reflective learning often went hand in hand. When writers commented on how much they had learned about their subjects, or about women's history, or about the process of historical research and writing, they also talked about

having renewed confidence in themselves. Accomplishing their task, regardless of how much experience they previously had in writing and research, had a positive impact on their self image.

A public school administrator, experienced in report and proposal writing, but new to historical research, wrote:

> I believe it safe to say that you give your best when you have two ingredients: I **cared** about the project, I **believed** it to be worthwhile, and so I think the greatest learning factor for me is that I **can write** if I care and believe in what I am doing.[16]

A foreign language teacher, whose younger child started kindergarten at the time the project began, reported that the project work "marked my return to an active career as a teacher and consultant." She said:

> The whole project was a learning experience for me. Obtaining material was the greatest challenge and being far from an excellent library was the greatest frustration. The main satisfaction was in persevering and ferreting out facts to do a good job on the biographies.
>
> I think the main result was a feeling of achievement in a job well done which boosted my self-confidence and allowed me then to pick up the threads of my professional life.

A writer of poetry and fiction found that her research provided background for a novel she was writing. She also used material on one of her subjects to write an expanded biography for a local anniversary celebration. In describing how the experience contributed to her life, she wrote:

> It emphasized my love of research and writing--my thoughts began to wander to a Master's/Ph.D. program somewhere in my future. I realize my **need** to write.
>
> I realized my strengths as a competent researcher/writer who can "hold her own" with other writers. It also confirmed my ability to be a competent "juggler."

Still another writer who had been working in genealogy at a county historical society said:

> I learned to use oral history more effectively...that I am a better writer than I had thought I was...[and] my skills as a researcher are more unique and outstanding than I had thought. I have...resigned from a job that I have [held] for the past three years because I realized that my skills and talents were being used without proper credit or recognition. I am in the process of re-evaluating my life and my priorities. The involvement with the Women's Project, while not solely responsible for these changes was a contributing factor.

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The writers also reported some dialogic learning which, according to Mezirow, enables people to understand a community's ideology and engage in communication with one another. The writers became aware of how little information is available about women as a group, and understood better the importance of women's history. They struggled successfully with "writer's block" and the pressures of publishing.

Some writers developed new insight into minority group experience. The author of a biography about a Japanese-American woman wrote:

> I learned with horror and shame of the false imprisonment of Japanese Americans here (in the U.S.) during the war. I feel much more sympathy for minority groups and now am more knowledgeable about the whole background of Japanese-American relations.

An Hispanic sociologist who wrote on an Hispanic subject noted that she "learned about the power behind poor working class women" and "became more interested in Hispanic Women Research." As a result of working on the Project, this writer said she developed "a Statewide Hispanic Women['s] Organization" and worked to "lobby and pass a Bill for Hispanic Women Single Heads of Household for Job Training and English as a Second Language." Adding a self-reflective aspect to her comments, she concluded:

> It has been a very rewarding and growing process as a Latina woman, to see that we need to write our own history.

In most cases, the dialogic learning of the writers involved enhancement of the meaning schemes within which they functioned rather than expansion or transformation of their meaning schemes. As mentioned in the section on decision-makers, we were limited in our ability to identify clearly the status of a person's meaning schemes as Mezirow defined them. However, we recognized there were differences in the nature of the dialogic learning between the writers and the decision-makers, and these seemed to reflect differences in the status of the meaning schemes involved in the learning. Where some decision-makers experienced perspective transformations as a result of dialogic learning linked to self-reflective learning, no writer in our sample did. Among the writers, dialogic learning seemed to result in the expansion of their existing meaning schemes, not in a transformation of their perspective.

Implications

The experience of the Women's Project of New Jersey demonstrates that a community project may also be an educational project. We applied Mezirow's critical theory to analyze the learning that took place in this project in order to see whether it could help us understand the varieties of learning that can occur and the conditions that support this learning. We believed that such understanding could inform the design of both school and community-based educational experiences for adults and thereby improve the potential of these environments to support continued personal growth and development.

The decision of the Women's Project of New Jersey directors to be as inclusive as possible in planning and implementing the project was significant in providing enriched learning experiences for many individuals. By involving both academic and community writers and including various ethnic and occupational perspectives, the leaders provided a large resource for the infusion of different viewpoints. The interaction of members of the project--whether it was in meetings of the trustees or in individual communications between a writer and an editor -- was important in the learning that occurred.

The operations of the Women's Project reflected women's styles of decision-making and management. The link between participatory management and participants' learning suggests other questions for research: Do men and women function, and learn, differently in an educational setting based on participation and consensus-building? What kind of learning may occur in community tasks managed differently from this one? Do men and women function, and learn, differently in a non-participatory management setting? Research on these questions would contribute to our understanding of experiential learning.

In terms of Mezirow's critical theory, the function of learning that seemed most frequent among both writers and decision-makers was instrumental learning. Members of the two groups did tend to learn about different things, but that was undoubtedly related to the particular nature of their tasks and roles. The main difference between the two groups had to do with the nature of their dialogic learning. What distinguished the decision-makers' experience most from the writers' experience was the intense group interaction of the decision-makers. We found that the decision-makers developed more new meaning schemes than did the writers, and we hypothesize that may have resulted from their group process.

It is reasonable to expect that this distinction would occur. People who talk together have more opportunity to explore each other's ideas and judgments

than people who do not engage in open discussion. They stimulate each other by addressing issues from different backgrounds and perspectives. A new consensus can be achieved. Mezirow refers to the process that occurs when people engage in such exchanges under conditions of self-awareness and openness as dialogue or "discourse," a concept he borrows from Habermas.[17] Our research suggests that such dialogue is an important element in helping learners acquire new meaning schemes or achieve perspective transformation. Exploration of this relationship appears to be a productive area for additional study.

The rationale of the Women's Project of New Jersey for establishing this inclusive dialogue rested in its desire to make the resulting volume accessible to a wide audience. This task seemed to require diversity among the decision-makers. However, such diversity may well be an important resource in achieving other community and educational goals.

In this study we explored the relationship between people's openness to learning and what they learned. How people perceived themselves within the project seemed to have some relationship to their readiness and openness to learning. Everyone came with expertise in some aspect of the endeavor. Some discussed their learning solely in terms of their area of expertise. For example, one editor had been working on the history of New Jersey women and also was aware that biography was a growing area of interest and receiving increased support. She viewed her learning as increasing her knowledge in an area in which she was already an expert. On the other hand, another editor, who was a women's studies specialist, saw her contribution as facilitating collaboration among experts with different perspectives from different parts of the state and different institutions. She identified her learning as developing new ideas about how history is constructed and who is involved in constructing it. The content knowledge she acquired seemed of far less significance. Our research raises questions about the relationship between how one views oneself within a situation and what one learns from it. Other work will be necessary to pursue those questions.

The Women's Project of New Jersey started out to document women's lives, not to provide an educational experience for its participants. Training workshops for writers were offered, and some writers found them helpful. However, few respondents to the questionnaire mentioned these activities as important learning elements. We concluded that the reflection resulting from immersing themselves in source materials and interviewing their subjects was most significant for the writers. For the trustees and editors, their joint decision-making process was most significant.

Our study of the Women's Project of New Jersey suggests that by incorporating knowledge of educational processes in its planning and operation,

a community project may enhance its participants' learning. On the other hand, by incorporating a community project into an educational program, educators may strengthen the impact of their program. The task to be accomplished sets requirements for skills, attitudes, and concepts that participants must learn. Accomplishment of the task provides feedback on the learning, stimulates positive self-reflection, and often sets the stage for further learning.

The Women's Project of New Jersey chose to accomplish its goals through consensus-building, a management process that also encouraged learning. This study suggests that the important elements for learning were involvement of people with diverse backgrounds and viewpoints, an openness to input from everyone, an ability to immerse oneself in the search for information, and a willingness to examine all issues until a consensus emerged. Our study further suggests that a community project such as the Women's Project of New Jersey can provide an identifiable variety of learning experiences for participants, depending on their roles, their expertise, and their readiness to learn.

Notes

1. "History in the Making: A Chronology of the Women's Project of New Jersey," [November 13, 1984 - September 6, 1985]. Prepared by Gayle Samuels, President, Women's Project of New Jersey, Inc., 1985. In the Archives of the WPNJ, currently in Ridgewood, NJ, and ultimately to be placed in the women's archives at Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey.
2. Women's Project of New Jersey, Inc., *Past and Promise: Lives of New Jersey Women* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1990). The Women's Project of New Jersey, Inc., received a 1990 Recognition Award from the New Jersey Historical Commission for *Past and Promise* and a "traveling photographic exhibition... representing some of the subjects of the book."
3. Joan N. Burstyn, "Historical Perspectives on Women in Educational Leadership," in *Women in Educational Leadership*, Sari K. Biklen & Marilyn B. Brannigan, eds. (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1979).
4. See Robbie Pfeifer Kahn, "Taking Our Maternal Bodies Back: *Our Bodies, Ourselves* and the Boston Women's Health Book Collective," in *Changing Education: Women as Radicals and Conservators*, Joyce Antler & Sari Knopp Biklen, eds. (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1990), pp.117-35.
5. See Carol Gilligan, *In a Different Voice* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982).
6. Elisabeth Hayes, "Insights from Women's Experience for Teaching and Learning," in *Effective Teaching Styles*, Elisabeth R. Hayes, ed., New Directions for Continuing Education, No. 43, (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1990), pp. 55-65.
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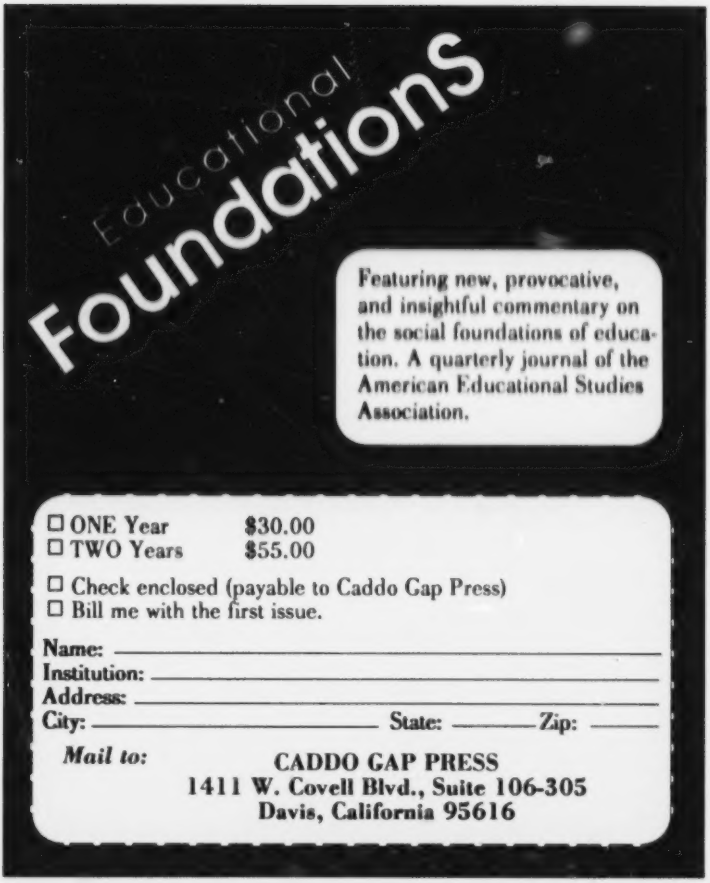
9. Mezirow, p. 21.
10. The nine categories of combined learning function and learning process were: Instrumental, within meaning scheme; instrumental, in new meaning scheme; instrumental, in new meaning perspective. Dialogic, within meaning scheme; dialogic, in new meaning scheme; dialogic, in new meaning perspective. Self-reflective, within meaning scheme; self-reflective, in new meaning scheme; and self-reflective, in new meaning perspective.
11. "History in the Making," p. 3.
12. "History in the Making," p. 4.
13. "History in the Making," p. 7.
14. "History in the Making," p. 9.
15. For the role of women scientists in academe nationally see Margaret W. Rossiter, *Women Scientists in America: Struggles and Strategies to 1940* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1982), chapter 6. For women scientists in New Jersey see index listings under specific sciences, *Past and Promise*, pp. 445-468.
16. All quotations in this section are from the questionnaires returned by the sample of 19 authors.
17. Mezirow, p. 19.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Teaching Social Foundations to Undergraduates: The Importance of Instructor's Educational Training

By Linda Spatig and Robert Bickel

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Over the course of the history of teacher education in the United States, ideas about the role of social foundations have changed. According to Tozer and McAninch (1986), the earliest foundations classes (developed and taught during the 1890-1920 period) encouraged prospective teachers to conform to existing conditions. This was followed by a more progressive period (1920-1950) during which foundations classes were cross-disciplinary and encouraged a critical examination of the social order.

Characterizing more recent ideas about social foundations is difficult. Individuals who professionally identify with social foundations describe the discipline in terms of its interpretive, normative, and critical orientation (Council of Learned Societies in Education, 1986). On the other hand, popular foundations textbooks (from the 1950s through the 1980s) are uncritical, adopting "celebrationist approaches toward the study of American schooling" (Tozer and McAninch, 1987). This contradiction may be related

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to two factors: 1) That in most teacher education programs "foundations come packaged in introduction to education courses" which are "haphazard collections of issues and topics" (Sirotnik, 1990: 713, 714); and 2) that many of those currently teaching social foundations courses have not received graduate training in that area (Shea and Henry, 1986).

Much recent literature laments the deterioration of social foundations. Sirotnik (1990) reports finding more than 30 articles or essays concerning "a serious erosion, decline, decay, or demise of foundational studies in teacher education programs" (p. 715). Of particular interest to us is that Shea, Sola, and Jones (1986) suggest that there is a social foundations "crisis" and call for better efforts to understand the character of social foundations of education coursework, programs, and faculty as they are today in our colleges and universities.

One of the purposes of this research was to gain in-depth information about social foundations faculty. We know from Shea, Sola, and Jones (1986) that those individuals have training and experience in a wide variety of fields; and that a large number (48 percent of full-time faculty, 70 percent of part-time faculty) "do not hold a doctoral degree in a relevant foundations discipline" (p.50). We do not know, however, how instructors' educational training actually impacts perceptions about and orientations towards the teaching of social foundations classes. A second purpose was to determine whether, in what ways, and to what extent differences in instructors' perceptions and orientations are reflected in their students' ideas and thinking processes.

Methods

During the 1988 Spring semester all individuals (n=6) teaching social foundations classes at a medium-sized (12,000) state university in West Virginia responded to a written questionnaire concerning the extent and nature of their educational training. Following the format used by Shea and Henry (1986), individuals were asked to indicate degrees held as well as hours of graduate coursework completed in areas such as Educational Foundations, Policy Analysis, and Sociology of Education. In addition, individual, semi-structured, formal interviews were conducted with all instructors. Participants were asked general questions about the role and value of social foundations coursework in undergraduate teacher preparation programs as well as questions specific to the way they teach their own social foundations classes. The interviews, which were conducted by the principal researcher, took place in the offices or homes of participants.

In an effort to understand student responses to these courses, all those enrolled in Introduction to Teaching (n=189) and Educational Foundations (n=36) in the Spring of 1988 responded to an open-ended written survey at the end of the Spring semester. The survey consisted of three school-related scenarios to which students were asked to respond.

Responses were sampled for analysis in such a way that 50 percent of those from the Educational Foundations class (n=18) were included. Eighteen Introduction to Teaching surveys were randomly selected so that the percentage drawn from each instructor was proportionate to the number enrolled in her or his class(es). The 18 Educational Foundations surveys were randomly selected in the same fashion.

Setting and Participants

The College of Education is located in the Appalachian region of the United States and serves primarily white, female, working, and lower middle class students from nearby communities (Spatig and Bickel, 1989). A 60-year history of undergraduate course offerings in the College of Education indicates that social foundations, whether seen as discrete disciplines (philosophy, history, sociology) or as a cross-disciplinary field of study, has been something less than a highly valued or stable part of the curriculum (Spatig and Bickel, 1988). While other educational foundations courses such as human development have been required consistently, social foundations coursework has been, for the most part, either optional or abbreviated. One reason for this may be that few faculty members identified professionally with this area of study. Until 1987, there never had been a faculty member with a graduate degree in social foundations.

During the 1988 Spring semester, two foundations courses were being offered. One of these was Introduction to Teaching, a freshman level course, described in the 1989-90 University Catalog as follows:

> A basic course designed to give the prospective education major an orientation to the profession. Emphasis is given to professional qualifications, career opportunities, contemporary issues, historical and philosophical foundations of education. (p. 238)

The other course, Foundations of Education, is a senior level course described in the catalog in this way:

> A survey of the historical, philosophical and sociological foundations of American education with emphasis upon current educational problems and issues. (p. 239)

Only two sections of the upper level foundations course, which is being phased out, were offered during the semester of this study; seven sections of the introductory course were offered. Taken together, these nine foundations classes were taught by six instructors, only two of whom have doctoral degrees in foundations.

Both of the senior level foundations classes were taught by adjunct instructors, one of whom has a masters degree in Art. One of the freshman level introductory classes was taught by an adjunct instructor with a masters degree in History; one was taught by a full-time faculty member holding a doctoral degree in Educational Administration; three were taught by a full-time faculty member with a doctoral degree in Educational Foundations; and two were taught by a full-time faculty member with a doctoral degree in Educational Foundations and Policy Analysis. A total of five classes (55 percent of all social foundations classes for this semester) were taught by faculty with terminal degrees in a relevant foundations discipline.

Instructors' Orientations

We found that instructors' ideas about and approaches to teaching social foundations courses corresponded, as might be expected, to educational background. Perhaps the most striking example of the close relationship between educational background and approaches to and ideas about their courses is evident in responses to questions about the major goal or purpose of the courses. Those whose educational background was not in social foundations emphasized career decision-making and general familiarity with the field of teaching, regardless of which course they were teaching. For example, Ernest Ney,[1] an adjunct instructor with an undergraduate degree in Elementary Education and a masters degree in History, who was teaching one of the Introduction to Teaching classes, commented:

> I want them to have some idea that this is really what they want to do. And you try to present to them the good and the bad of the teaching profession,and really confront them with the whys and wherefores of teaching and is this where you belong...I think that's the reason why we've dropped this course down to the freshman level. It's an introduction to teaching. (Interview: 7/7/88).

Along the same lines, Nicky Terrell, an adjunct instructor with degrees in Early Childhood Education (undergraduate) and Reading (masters), who taught one of the upper level foundations classes, said that she tried to help students:

> ...to decide if they really wanted to teach. I mean, I hope that if they finished this class they knew if they wanted to be teachers or if they didn't want to. (Interview: 6/23/88)

On the other hand, those whose graduate training was in social foundations emphasized social context issues, rather than career decisions, despite the fact that they were teaching the introductory course. Bert Kelly, for example, said he wanted:

> ...to enable [students] to understand connections between education and other institutions, especially economic and political institutions. And to provide them with information that they can use to protect themselves...[against] claims that they as teachers and the schools that they work in are outrageously inefficient when compared with the way other institutions and organizations work...I also wanted to disabuse them of the notion that education is the social cure-all that it is often portrayed as. (Interview: 10/6/88)

In a similar vein, Darlene Tigler discussed her desire to have students consider and critique multiple perspectives on educational issues:

> I tell them that in this course we will talk about the fact that all these kinds of things [e.g., characteristics of the learner, teaching methods, subject area content] go on within some kind of a social context. Of course they usually look at me like I am absolutely crazy when I say that...I try to get them to...look at different perspectives on something,...[such as] different theories of curriculum. I want them to examine them in light of all else that is or was going on in the world...And [I] try to get them to take some positions and be able to defend those. (Interview: 10/5/88)

As might be expected, ideas about course content and materials were related to course goals as described above. In general, those whose purpose was the clarification of career goals tended to emphasize practical job-related issues such as salaries, interview skills, etc., rather than critical orientations and social context issues. For example, when asked about how they addressed the relationship between education and other social institutions such as the economy, those without social foundations backgrounds (Nicky Terrell and Tina Lincoln) talked about low teacher salaries and the troubled economy in West Virginia and the importance of understanding and accepting children of different economic backgrounds (Ernest Ney). Those with social foundations training, on the other hand, had a broader focus. For example, Bert Kelly talked about how schooling is tied to the labor market:

> What I tell them is that over the course of this century

> schooling has become tied more and more closely to the presumed needs of the labor market. And schools have come to serve more and more as a feeder system for the occupational structure...As a result, there has been less emphasis on instruction to provide people with critical skills. (Interview: 10/6/88)

A similar pattern can be seen when examining comments about how and to what extent race, gender, and social class relations are or should be addressed. Comments of two instructors with no graduate training in foundations indicate that these are not central components of their upper level foundations classes. In fact, they were of the opinion that these issues are given too much textbook attention. In terms of race, Nicky Terrell reported:

> There was a lot on segregation [in the text] and just a whole lot--too much, in my book. I think they ought to stress other things. They seem to go on more--most on that and I don't think that's necessary. I think that's kind of been run into the ground. (Interview: 6/23/88)

Similarly, Tina Lincoln felt that gender was over-emphasized in the text:

> I thought [the textbook] was a little behind the times... Those two men [textbook authors] referred often to the fact that women were not treated correctly which I thought was overdone. (Interview: 7/6/88)

On the other hand, Ryan Ward and Ernest Ney, neither of whom has extensive graduate level training in social foundations, felt that these are important issues to address, primarily in terms of understanding individual children in order to effectively teach them:

> I think empathy for another person and understanding of the difference is another part of being able to teach them...As teachers, they have to reach out to help the student to get from where they are to where they need to be. (Interview with Ryan Ward, 7/19/88)

Those with social foundations backgrounds discussed gender, class, and race as more central to their teaching and they described their approach as a rather straightforward examination of these as aspects of the social context of schooling. In the words of Bert Kelly:

> I have had a handful of black students in the class and two of them told me that before they had this class they felt that teachers in the College of Education and other colleges had avoided dealing with these issues... I dealt with these issues in my own way but in a head-on kind of fashion. Just said these are issues and we have to deal with them, and treated

> them in almost a matter-of-fact kind of way...I spend a lot of time on them. (Interview: 10/6/88)

Responses concerning race, gender, and class differ in relation to educational training in two ways. In general, those with degrees in areas other than social foundations seemed to give less attention to these concerns. Also, they tended to speak about race, class, and gender in terms of psychological or individual factors related ultimately to teaching effectiveness. Those with social foundations training, on the other hand, focussed on school-society connections, particularly in terms of unequal gender, race, and class relations.

Instructors' comments about the role or purpose of schooling in American society also varied in ways which may be related to educational background. One instructor without social foundations training took what might be called a functionalist position:

> I think schools have a responsibility to prepare children to take their place in society--with the understanding that society is probably not all that we want it to be. But it's not the school's primary function to change society as such. We can't change the world. We can just help children to cope with the world. (Interview: 7/12/88)

While the other three instructors without social foundations backgrounds believed that schools should be more proactive, especially in terms of dealing with social problems, only brief and unelaborated responses were offered. For example, when Nicky Terrell was asked to explain why she thought the schools should try to affect changes in society, she replied:

> ...The schools are where the children are...That's where you can reach them.. Um, I don't know. I just think they should. I don't know why. (Interview: 6/23/88)

Those with social foundations backgrounds, on the other hand, gave lengthy and more complex responses concerning this issue. It seemed to be a topic to which they had given serious thought. For Darlene Tigler, the major issue seemed to be the encouragement of a critical, questioning response in students:

> I probably feel that schools...should not attempt to just transmit the knowledge that has existed over time; that they should be about the business of encouraging in students the kinds of critical response I try to encourage in mine--which would then give them the potential for improving things. (Interview: 10/6/88)

Bert Kelly took what he called a "critical position on the role of education" in society:

> I'd place myself in the group who maintains that education is

> basically a subordinate or marginal institution. And however much we may try to promise social reform through educational means, we are going to experience very little success. And this is one of the things that we talk about in class. Why it may be that education as an institution has traditionally been relied on as an agency for social reform. (Interview: 10/6/88)

Near the close of each interview, instructors were asked about how students responded to their course/s and how valuable they thought the course was for students. Again, while the responses did not vary in relation to course title, they seem to be related to educational background. Those whose backgrounds are not in social foundations reported feeling anywhere from moderately pleased to delighted with student responses to the course and to the extent that the course was practical in nature, that it was very valuable for prospective teachers.

For those with social foundations training, student success seemed to be more difficult to gauge. According to Bert Kelly, while students were able to answer test questions satisfactorily, he wasn't convinced that they were making some of the connections mentioned in his goals for the course:

> One of the impressions I get is that I'm trying to teach a way of looking at the world and they are treating it as if it were a set of discrete bits of knowledge...[which] they are able to use....to respond to test questions. Maybe I'm expecting too much when I say I want to change the way they look at things. (Interview: 10/6/88)

Based on the interview data, one might conclude that instructors who are trained in social foundations take a more cross-disciplinary, critical approach, focusing on social context regardless of whether they are teaching Introduction to Teaching or Educational Foundations. Conversely, those whose training is in other areas are more likely to take a more general, practical, introduction-to-the-profession approach even when teaching an upper level foundations course. In this case, who a student has for an instructor seems to be more important that what course he or she has.

Student Responses

The questionnaires to which students were asked to respond consisted of three school-related scenarios. One item raised the question of who should control curriculum in American public schools; a second item was a hypotheti-

cal situation concerning a teacher beginning to work in a new and different (from his previous experiences) community; the third was a statement related to the student-teacher ratio in West Virginia, an issue of current interest locally.

Responses were analyzed in relation to the *Standards for Academic and Professional Instruction in Foundations of Education, Educational Studies, and Educational Policy Studies* as published in 1986 by the Council of Learned Societies in Education. Specifically, we looked for responses evidencing critical thinking, which we defined in terms of three factors: 1) an inquiring or questioning orientation, 2) an awareness of complex social context issues, and 3) the development of an informed point of view.

The survey item concerning a teacher named John who is preparing to teach potentially controversial topics in a community which is different (in terms of race and social class) from what he has experienced previously drew the most responses evidencing an awareness of social context issues. Students were asked to delineate major issues and to recommend a course of action for John. The following response, made by a sophomore enrolled in an Introduction to Teaching class taught by an instructor with social foundations training, is an example of those indicating social context awareness:

> The main issues are the availability of equal opportunities regardless of race or social class. John will have to be prepared to defend himself against community complaints. However, in order to educate and provide equal opportunities to everyone, he still needs to discuss these issues.

As in this example, responses characterized by an awareness of social context also often stated a position and attempted to defend it. The difficulty was in determining the degree to which the positions were informed, reflective, or thought out in relation to other possible perspectives.

The survey item concerning a recent suggestion to cut the size of West Virginia's teaching force in response to declining student enrollment drew the greatest number of responses characterized by a questioning orientation as well as the development of a position. In some cases, students questioned assertions about the student-teacher ratio:

> I would strongly disagree [with] these claims and would fight it because I feel that in a lot of areas the classrooms are overcrowded and we need more teachers.

Others accepted the claim of declining enrollment but challenged the proposed solution:

> A better way would be to cut out the dead wood in...the State Department. West Virginia is rural for the most part and bussing a few children to consolidate would be more expensive.

A few were opposed to the teaching force reduction because it failed to address serious problems which have led to declining enrollments. For example, one student argued that declining enrollment is related to a state-wide "population slump" due to the "poor conditions" causing many to "leave the state to find jobs." In light of this analysis, reducing the size of the teaching force made less sense than finding ways "to bring more business into the area" so that people will want to live here and "will want to send their children to public schools."

Student responses did not vary in relation to which course they had taken or in relation to the educational backgrounds of their instructors. Of the 61 responses reflecting a critical orientation, 30 were from the upper-level Educational Foundations class and 31 were from freshman-level Introduction to Teaching class. Examining the results in relation to instructor background reveals that 38 percent of the sampled responses came from instructors with social foundations training and they account for 33 percent of the responses judged as critical in orientation. The remaining 67 percent of the responses were from those whose instructors have training in other areas and they account for 62 percent of the critically-oriented responses.

Summary and Conclusions

As discussed above, data analysis revealed diversity in instructor's educational training, both in terms of level of training and area of expertise. Further, it is clear that instructor's professional training and identity are related to their ideas about teaching the courses, with those trained in social foundations taking a more cross-disciplinary, critical approach focusing on social context regardless of whether they are teaching a freshman-level introductory class or a senior-level foundations course. In relation to literature discussed above, this information validates the professionally accepted description of social foundations in terms of its interpretive, normative, and critical orientation and is an indication that current ideas and practice in social foundations instruction are consistent with the progressive foundations classes of the 1920-1950 period. On the other hand, the history of course offerings at this institution, and current efforts to phase out the upper-level foundations course in favor of a general introduction to the profession course suggest that other teacher education professionals in this institution have not and do not now agree with such an orientation.[2]

Along the same lines, instructors' interview comments indicate that Shea and Henry's (1986) concern about who is teaching social foundations courses

is worthy of consideration. The orientations of instructors whose training was not in social foundations could not be characterized as interpretive, normative, and critical. This is particularly problematic since the decision to offer social foundations as a freshman-level introductory course has resulted in the use of a large number of such instructors. In this college it is not unusual for instructors without graduate degrees in foundations to teach 50 percent of the classes which address, if not focus on, social foundations.

These instructor differences, however, were not manifested in student surveys. The responses of students whose instructors tried to encourage critical analysis of social context issues were not characterized by a more critical orientation than those of students whose instructors emphasized more practical issues.

It may be that the ideas and orientations students bring with them are relatively durable and not subject to dramatic change as a result of one three-hour class. This is consistent with a growing body of literature suggesting that students are not empty, passive recipients of professional socialization training (For example, see Anyon, 1983; Spatig, Ginsburg, and Liberman, 1982).

While we have no argument with the notion of students as active participants, we are inclined to believe that they also are influenced, albeit subtly or minimally, by their schooling experiences. There are several possible reasons such an influence was not discernible in the present study. One possibility concerns the limitations of administering a one-time, end of semester, written survey instrument to elicit student responses. In addition to having no indication of what students brought to the courses, we frequently had difficulty analyzing students' comments without the opportunity to ask them for additional clarifying information. Also, there may be inconsistencies between what instructors say about their classroom teaching and what is experienced by students in the everyday classroom situation.

With these limitations in mind, we are currently undertaking a second phase of study in which we are using a pre- and post-semester survey as well as classroom observations and interviews to conduct an in-depth study of two Introduction to Teaching classes, one taught by an instructor with an Art Education background, the other taught by an instructor trained in Social Foundations. This process will assist us in understanding students' previously formulated ideas and perceptions, as well as how their schooling experiences, including the ideas and actions of specific instructors, interact with those.

Notes

1. Pseudonyms are used to protect the privacy of participants in the study.
2. During the past semester social foundations faculty attempted to replace the introductory course with an upper-level foundations course. Faculty from the Department of Teacher Education (Foundations is grouped with Educational Administration, etc.) who are opposed to such a change have indicated that the introductory course is preferable in that it does a better job of meeting the state performance objectives; that it could and probably should be taught by teacher education faculty (rather than foundations faculty) and that social foundations coursework might be better located at the graduate level.

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Repressive Pluralism

By Joseph Watras

Newspaper stories and articles in popular educational journals often portray textbook conflicts as irreconcilable. Even a widely used text for pre-service teachers, *The Ethics of Teaching* by Kenneth Strike and Jonas Soltis, presents a case study called "Censorship" showing the demands of conservative parents are incompatible with the aims of liberal educators. According to Strike and Soltis's example, the parents, who are led by a church minister, claim that certain school texts advocate secular humanism by making traditional values appear foolish. In the same story, the educators claim the parents are intruding on teachers' academic freedom and the texts represent an effort to portray the different values held by various groups.

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Strike and Soltis's story is one they created. Their style of teaching ethical reasoning requires using incidents that are hard to resolve. Nonetheless, these authors capitalize on a popular conception of textbook controversies which overlooks the important perspectives the parents and the teachers share. As a result, this interpretation makes it difficult to see deeper meanings in any conflict than those expressed by the disputants.

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Shared Perspectives

Despite the images of contradictory views, the attitudes of parents who complain about materials their children read in public schools are often similar to the opinions of school officials who select the texts. That is, parents and school people justify their actions by saying they are trying to protect people's rights to hold their own opinions. And each side strengthens its plea by accusing the other side of being repressive.

The important point is these pleas for openness are not translated into a view whereby each side can learn from the other. Instead, people use arguments about the threat of secular humanism or about the dangers of censorship to advance a particular model of pluralism. And each side turns to the school district's local board in order to uphold its view. The irony is that the arguments each side uses undercut any sense of community stronger than an appeal to protect all individuals' rights.

Other researchers have noticed that both sides in textbook controversies share some views. For example, in 1983, Stephen Arons wrote about a textbook controversy that took place in 1977 and 1978 in Warsaw, Indiana. Arons says it was hard to distinguish the liberal from the conservative aims. In this case, conservative parents elected like-thinking school board members to remove textbooks on values clarification from the school. Liberal parent and teachers protested and went to court to reverse these actions. In considering their arguments, Arons concludes, "both sides sought to control value orthodoxy by controlling curriculum" (25). It is Arons' view that "school censors and those who do battle with them...take seriously the message...that public education is the great cohesive force of a democratic society" (27).

Arons acknowledges that the concept of personal rights played an important role in the censorship issue. But he says the view that it is the right of the majority to rule was common to both sides. Arons contends this belief in majoritarian rule prevents genuine pluralism from developing and thereby prevents future growth of the culture. His solution is to separate school from state control to protect minority views and to allow the democratic dialogue to continue.

Problems with the Language of Personal Rights

Since Arons sees the problems as coming from a short-sighted conception of government, he looks past the words of personal liberties that both sides use in the dispute. As a result, he does not see how some difficulties could come from people's conceptions of liberty. Other authors can help here.

Writing about Europe in 1932, Jose Ortega y Gasset complained about what he called hyperdemocracy. This was a natural but dangerous extension of eighteenth century liberalism. Ortega noted that, during the nineteenth century, enthusiasm grew for the view that every human being possessed fundamental political rights. In the twentieth century, the ideal became a part of everyone's heart and mind. Ortega said even critics of democracy used the liberal ideal to make their objections.

There is more than irony in Ortega's observation that Bolshevik and Fascist revolutions were done in the name of personal rights. What Ortega saw as a crucial oversight in these mass movements was common to people around him. Few individuals could measure their efforts against a standard outside their own opinions, Ortega said. Consequently, Ortega sought a way to inspire people to affirm those rare individuals whose lives were spent in the service of something transcendental.

Ortega's ideas are about another time and place, but they point to the truth that personal rights are best used in the quest for something whose value can be measured objectively. Furthermore, Ortega warns against the tendency of people to cherish their own voices because they are theirs. Yet this is what happens in a textbook controversy. Everyone asserts the right to hold an opinion. Even those people who hold to standards broader than personal taste contend that they have a right to believe as they do. No one tries to argue about the standards.

Five examples illustrate hyperdemocracy in school text controversies. These are examples of the same tendency among textbook protesters and school people who select books, among school board members who reject multi-cultural books, among participants in civil suits, among nationally prominent educators, and among textbook authors. In each case, the people involved are affirming an individual's right to think as he or she wishes.

Examples from Textbook Controversies

The first example of hyperdemocracy comes from two guide books. One is to help parents protest effectively. The second is to help school people counter these demonstrations. Written in 1979, Connought Coyne Marshner's *Blackboard Tyranny* is a manual for people she calls parent activists that explains how and why to complain about school texts. She says her work is needed if ordinary citizens are to regain the control of local school boards usurped by professional educators. The aim of all protests, she says, is to widen educational options for all people: "private schools, home education, apprenticeship education--even no education at all...should be among the choices" (320).

Marshner's efforts were successful enough to prompt Phi Delta Kappa, a professional educator's association, to sponsor a response. In 1986, Edward B. Jenkinson wrote *The Schoolbook Protest Movement* in order to help school people understand and counter textbook protesters.

Jenkinson argues there is a nationwide movement involving such notables as Norma and Mel Gabler and Phyllis Schlafy who wish to censor texts. Jenkinson notes these people do not see themselves as censors but as people defending Judeo-Christian values which they see as under attack by contemporary school textbooks. Jenkinson quotes Marshner to show school people what kind of tactics they will have to face. Most important of the things school people can do, Jenkinson says, is to draft policy statements in advance explaining why certain materials are used. He presents as an example the 1982 Instructional Materials Selection Policy of the Madison, Wisconsin School District, which says, "the right to a free choice among alternatives is basic to a democratic society,...Our educational system must, therefore, allow free access to a full range of instructional materials..." (106).

The point is that manuals written for the opposing sides propose the same aim, namely, increasing choices for all people. More surprising, the same argument may justify narrowing the curriculum, and this is the second example of hyperdemocracy.

In 1974, a textbook controversy took place in Kanawha County, West Virginia. The protesters said some texts then in use impugned patriotism, made slang appear acceptable, and made values seem to depend on the situation. The school board adopted a policy to avoid controversial texts by seeking texts that were as value free as possible. Alice Moore, the conservative board member who may have started the controversy, explained the policy in an editorial for

The School Law Newsletter. She said, "We are seeking...neutrality toward... theistic and humanistic beliefs. We do not want to force moral absolutes on others, but we will not tolerate humanistic moral relativism to be forced on us" (224). Her conclusion is "tragic as it is, moral education no longer belongs in the public schools" (226). Thus, for Alice Moore, the schools have to narrow their curricula in order to protect students' rights to hold their own values.

The third example of hyperdemocracy is legal cases. In these suits conservative fundamentalist parents complained their rights were violated when their children were forced to read multi-cultural texts that ignored the Christian perspectives they believed to be true. School people replied the texts were from respected publishers and were designed to show the pluralistic nature of American society. In 1986 U.S. District Judge Thomas G. Hull decided *Mozart v. Hawkins County Public Schools* in favor of the fundamentalist parents. Hull agreed the texts were unbalanced because they omitted religious perspectives. In 1987, in a far more sweeping decision, U.S. District Judge Brevard Hand decided in *Smith v. Board of School Commissioners* that a series of books had to be removed from all public schools in Alabama. Hand agreed with the parents that the texts omitted religion to such an extent they trespassed on a child's right to hold a religious perspective.

Although both of these decisions were reversed by appeals courts, they illustrate how arguments about school texts rotate around the students' rights to hold opinions. Furthermore, these court decisions, limited as they were, inspired a group of educators sponsored by the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (ASCD) to issue a report on *Religion in the Curriculum* in public schools in August, 1987. Jenkinson, who wrote the *Schoolbook Protest Movement* was on the panel which developed the report.

The report acknowledges the complaint of textbook protesters that most books omitted any mention of religion and thereby appeared unbalanced. But the ASCD panel blames the textbook protesters, saying their demonstrations caused publishers to avoid controversy. The report calls for teachers to teach about religions and their impact on all aspects of social development because such understanding is necessary to live up to "the responsibility of our heritage of religious freedom and pluralism" (27). In order to do this, teachers must be "committed to the concept of a pluralistic society that accepts diversity of religion as the norm" the report says (28).

The ASCD report presents the view that pluralism is the best guarantee of freedom. It contains no dissenting views. It ignores the alternative view long held by religious educators that commitment to a denominational belief is essential to the development of personal ethics, thus making pluralism possible. Despite the authors' unwillingness to entertain different views, the report calls protesters repressive.

The fifth example shows the same perspective among textbook authors. James Moffett says he wrote *Storm in the Mountains* in 1988, in part, to explain how and why the 1974 Kanawha County, West Virginia, textbook controversy hurt and finally killed the *Interaction* series he edited for Houghton Mifflin. He adds that the series was loaded with the classics and mixed selections from a variety of sources. He contends it was planned this way because "pluralistic reading material (helps) each youngster...find his or her own kind (at the same time) he or she can discover other kinds" (136). The protesters in Kanawha County complained the books encouraged a view of relativity in language use, Moffett says. But he feels this was a cover for their deeper feelings of racism, or what he calls agnosis--a will to ignorance people use to retain their identity as members of a closed group.

What Pluralism Needs

Moffett uses the view that pluralism best satisfies personal rights to justify his book series. He complains the narrowmindedness of his opponents ruined his project. Moffett's fear of intolerance is excessive because it makes him see community as regressive. Community is an essential aspect of the pluralism Moffett favors.

In order for pluralism to exist, people in communities have to be committed to something other than pluralism. Of course, people in these small communities must tolerate the differences among people in other groups, but, for pluralism to work, the concept of tolerance can never become the overriding value. Pluralism is not easy to achieve because the commitment any community demands of its members threatens the tolerance everyone has to maintain if the various communities are to stay together.

Ortega's Solution and Today's Problem

Ortega y Gasset wanted to go beyond this dilemma. He called for an ideal that could bring all groups and nation states in Europe together. He noted Fascism and Communism promised a world order, but he warned these movements ignored the human freedoms that gave them birth. Ortega wanted to forge a notion of community wide enough to include all people and generous enough to provide for human rights within a spirit of cooperation.

While Ortega never described the spiritual idea that modern society needs, he did warn that democracy threatens its own progress. Ortega thought progress was spiritual as well as technical, and in both fields, it resulted from the work of a clear-thinking minority. Problems arose when people could not hear the voices of such individuals. Democracy aided progress when it allowed more people the chance to benefit from the goods of society, but it threatened progress when it accorded all people's voices equal stature.

This is the dilemma facing public school people, parents, and textbook authors. The common school movement is dedicated to extending attention to personal rights. It threatens its own progress if it ignores a concern for the social good which a clear-sighted minority might express.

Textbook controversies represent an opportunity for people to ask if concern for individual rights contradicts endeavors to serve a social value. It should be a time to consider the purpose of schooling. Unfortunately, participants in the disputes avoid these issues by trying to present their arguments as representing parents' and students' rights to hold an opinion or the educators' rights to academic freedom. Making matters worse, commentators avoid the important issues by presenting all textbook debates as irreconcilable. In these ways, pluralism becomes repressive.

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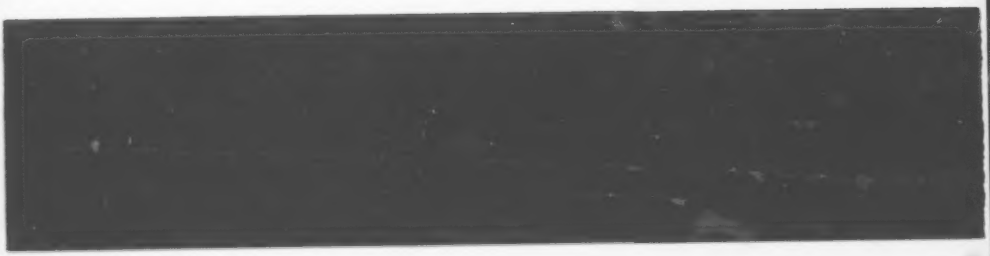

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